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ABSTRACT

The main thesis of this study is that the failure of the American Indian to achieve social and economic integration in American society during a century of reservation life, and specifically the failure of the Indian family to prepare its youth to face the competitive expectations of the other social institutions, is directly related to the dislocation of the institutional life on the reservation. In order to test this thesis empirically, 439 Pima students' (grades 7 through 12) projections of status mobility for education and occupation were ascertained. It was revealed that some aspects of the mobility orientation of Pima youth are high while others are low. Educational aspirations are especially high; occupational aspirations are lower; the materialistic value-orientations are particularly low; the pro-Anglo orientation is not high enough when it is considered that most of the opportunities for social mobility are outside the reservation; and it would appear that the Pima family is not able to acquire and pass on the mobility skills needed to achieve social mobility in the Anglo society. (LS)

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MOBILITY ORIENTATION AND MOBILITY SKILLS OF YOUTH IN AN INSTITUTIONALLY DISLOCATED GROUP: THE PIMA INDIAN

by

Genevieve De Hoyos, Ph.D.

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PREFACE

The American Indian has been a very popular object of study among cultural anthropologists. And until recently, the focus of such anthropological studies has been the description and analysis of cultural aspects of Indian life, particularly of primitive Indian life. It is only recently that other social scientists have become interested in the Indian population as a subject of study. As it could be expected, the later studies have been focussed on the problems of the educational, social economic adjustment of the Indian population. Some of these studies have focussed on specific substantive aspects such as the problems of the school system while others have been mostly general approaches to "Indian problems." While most of such studies add information about the Indian population in the United States, they seldom have provided a theoretical frame of reference within which the data presented may be understood.

The present study is an effort to close that gap in the literature. This study not only documents empirically some aspects of the problems of Indian youth, it also provides a theoretical explanation for the existence of such problems. While the specific study here deals with the educational and occupational aspiration of Indian youth -- the theoretical implications here discussed have relevance for other dimensions of the social experience of a people who live surrounded and as strangers in a society they do not understand.

G. De Hoyos

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The data used in the present study are part of a larger study of the Pima which was undertaken in collaboration with Dr. Arturo De Hoyos, and the writer is grateful for this association and for the research facilities throughout all the phases in the completion of this dissertation. Appreciation is extended to Dr. James A. Norton and Dr. Pao-lo Yu, of the Institute of Psychiatric Research, for their generous help in the statistical analysis of the data. Thanks are due also to Miss Elizabeth Werth and Mr. Harry M. Brittain for their assistance in data preparation and programming.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

One important aspect of the history of the American Indians is that which considers the various, repeated and yet futile attempts made by government and private organizations to integrate that population into the Anglo society.

Year after year and decade after decade, ideas have been proposed, facilities have been established, and programs have been developed in one way or another to educate, to acculturate, to integrate or to bring to American Indians a higher economic status. The result has been a limited visible headway.

The failure of all these efforts becomes more appalling when it is realized that a powerful and comprehensive Federal bureaucracy has been a major part of that process. Since 1824, The Bureau of Indian Affairs, with all the resources of the Federal Government, has been exclusively charged with the responsibility of the social, economic, and educational rehabilitation and acculturation of the American Indian. Nevertheless, the Indian, as an individual and most certainly as a group, remains a social, cultural, and economic appendage to the mainstream of American society.[1]

Statement of the Research Problem

The research problem of the present study is twofold: first, it consists of a theoretical explanation of the traditional educational and occupational failure of the American Indian. This part of the research problem requires the explicit formulation of such theoretical explanation, which is presented here as the main thesis of the study. The main thesis is that the failure of the American Indian to achieve social and economic

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[1]See Jackson, 1881; Paxton, 1960; Ames and Fisher, 1959; Hartley and Wiebe, 1960; Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian, 1961; Wax, Wax, and Dumont, 1964; Forbes, 1964; and many others.

integration in American society during a century of reservation life, and specifically the failure of the Indian family to prepare its youth to face the competitive expectations of the other social institutions, is directly related to the dislocation of the institutional life in the reservation. Institutional dislocation,[1] or the lack of functional relationship between the Indian family and the other major social institutions (particularly the economic system,) stems from the fact that the cultural base of the Indian family is different from the cultural base of the other institutions, as the latter are Anglo and were imposed on the Indian after conquest.

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[1]Essentially, institutional dislocation can be defined in terms of institutional integration. Institutional integration refers to the relatively normative and functional equilibrium between the basic institutions of society (Family, Economy, Polity, Religion, Education.) This equilibrium is a function of the basic value system of the culture and of the manifestation of values in the social structure. Specifically, an index of institutional integration would be the reciprocal functionality of the roles and role expectations of each one of the social institutions. From this point of view, institutions as units are said to be in equilibrium when the individuals who interact in terms of them are satisfied with the exchange made as they procure the attitudes, roles, goods, and services they need and want, as well as dispose of those they produce. (See Bredemeir and Stephenson, 1962:54-55.)

Therefore, dislocation exists when integration is lacking, that is, when the attitudes, roles, goods and services of members of one or more institutions do not meet the expectations of members of the other institutions in the society. Theoretically, institutional dislocation is a function of differential value systems underlying the basic institutions of a society.

The concept, as applies in the present study, refers to the dislocation between the economic, political, educational, and religious institutions of the dominant society in the reservation on the one side, and the Indian family on the other. More specifically, the concept is applied to the lack of integration between the Indian family system and the Anglo economic system.

The second aspect of the research problem consists of an empirical study of the mobility orientation and mobility skills[2] of a group of Indian youth. The hypotheses tested in the empirical study are not derivations from the theory of institutional dislocation. On the contrary, the hypotheses are based on the assumption that some degree of institutional integration may be present in the reservation. For institutional dislocation, though describing the general case in the reservation, particularly in the past, may not be a universal phenomenon at present. That is, it is possible that some degree of institutional integration may characterize a number of Indian families in the reservation. Thus, the empirical study is designed to explore the mobility orientation and the mobility skills of Indian youth from those families, in order to determine to what extent they have or have not overcome the institutional dislocation said here to characterize the social life of the reservation.

The two aspects of the study are analytically and substantially separate though, as the study proceeds, some parts of the discussion imply their logical interdependence and may appear to overlap and even fuse the two parts together. The research design for the empirical study permits the test of a number of hypotheses which state that the mobility orientation and skills of Indian youth are related to the socio-economic status and social stability of their family of orientation. Data from this part of the study should answer the question as to the extent of social aspiration among these Indian youth and also as to the relationship of this aspiration to their family's social standing vis-a-vis other families in the reservation.

The relationship of the empirical study of mobility orientation and mobility skills of youth to the theoretical explanation of institutional dislocation in the reservation is one of time. The methodological problem is one of conceptual organization of data from historical and other records and data from participant observation of reservation life in the present. It is on these bases that the thesis of institutional dislocation is advanced as a general explanation of the failure to integrate. The empirical study, on the other hand, is an attempt to evaluate the extent to which this institutional dislocation is being overcome at the present, if at all.

Thus the thesis of institutional dislocation does not depend on the outcome of the empirical test concerning the mobility orientation and mobility skills of the Pima youth at present. If the social aspiration of youth is found to be related to characteristics of family organization, it may be inferred that institutional dislocation is being overcome by those families whose youth report a relatively high level of social aspiration

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[2]Mobility orientation refers to aspiration levels which motivate the individual to achieve upward mobility. In this study, mobility orientation is defined in terms of educational aspirations, occupational aspirations, and materialistic value-orientation.

Mobility skills refer to acquired attitudes and values which are instrumental to achieve upward mobility. In this study, these (continued)

and skills. However, if this relationship is not supported by the data, it may be inferred that institutional dislocation is still very much a part of the social reality in the reservation.

It is on these bases that the study is concerned with the mobility orientation and mobility skills of youth in an institutionally dislocated group.

(cont.) skills are measured in terms of indexes of value orientation, Anglo society orientation, school adjustment, and social stability.

The operational definition of these terms and the relevant methodological procedure for their measurement are discussed in the Appendix.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

A. The American Indian in Transition

The main purpose of this part of the study is to document the thesis that the Indian economic, government, religious, educational structures were selectively destroyed through a series of organized programs by the Anglo society. Even the family unit, which in human society can be considered as being the last stand in the disintegration of a society and culture, felt the nearly devastating impact of a direct attempt of an Anglo program designed to forever break Indian resistance to white acculturation.

This review will show how the basic institutions in the Indian community were superimposed by Anglo institutions, with their alien symbols, role-expectations, reward systems, etc., and how little by little the family withdrew, alienating itself from these new and foreign patterns of social interaction.

From the beginning, the Indian was perceived by Anglos as an obstacle to a peaceful settlement of the west, an obstacle to be destroyed at any cost. This destruction was at first carried out through exterminating wars later, by the establishment of policies geared to overcome systematically the basic Indian social institutions. These policies were established by the Bureau of Indian Affairs which, on March 11, 1824, was organized - significantly enough - under the jurisdiction of the War Department, though later transferred to the Department of the Interior (Collier, 1947.) To trace the program of this important agency, the relations of the Bureau with the Indian can be classified into four periods. (Wells, 1953:19-22)

a) Treaty Period. From 1789 to 1871, about three hundred and seventy treaties were ratified by the Senate, most of which provided the Indian with large tracts of land in exchange for their home land. In the moving process, much of the Indian economic system was destroyed.

b) Reservation Period. From 1871 to 1887, more aspects of the Indian economic institution were affected. What had not been destroyed of the Indian economic system was destroyed then. For some, the reservation meant displacement, for others it meant the extinction of the buffalo and for still others, the interruption of nomadic ways. But whatever the meaning held by the reservation situation, the abrupt change was seldom a source of readjustment for the tribes involved.

During this period, the government gave to different Protestant churches the authority to function not only as christianizing agents but as governing and educating agents as well. Three institutions were affected at that time: government, education, and religion.

c) Allotment Period. However, the expected rapid change in the Indian way of life failed to take place and two important and new plans were devised which were to become, according to even staunch "friends" of the Indian, the solution to Indian problems.

First, between 1887 and 1934, tribal land was allocated to individual Indians in an attempt to force them into accepting private enterprise as an economic philosophy. This, of course, ran counter to the socialistic approach to economic enterprise that the Indian had developed throughout history. (LaFarge, 1940; Collier, 1947:134-135.) The consequences of the alloting program were extremely negative. The first consequence was the loss of extensive tracts of land as, after the land was alloted, the "surplus" land was often distributed or sold to Anglo settlers. During this period, most reservations were reduced drastically in size. Another unexpected consequence further reduced the economic power of the Indian: allotments had to be divided at the death of the original allottee. The result, about two generations later, was a "checkerboarding" of land which made profitable farming of the land impossible on most reservations. (LaFarge, 1940; Collier, 1947:134-135.)

Moreover, this forceful introduction of the Indian into this aspect of "private enterprise" did not significantly modify his socialistic economic approach.

During this same period, the family institution was threatened through the forced recruitment of children into federal boarding schools and through the specifically stated attempt to degrade Indianness (and as such, parents) in the eyes of the children in the process of their forced acculturation into the Anglo world. Any vestige of Indian religion was strongly attacked throughout this period. The Indian political system was, for all practical purposes, destroyed during that period, as the B.I.A. took over more and more responsibilities for the Indian on the reservation. Furthermore, indigenous leadership broke down as the Anglos, with complete authority in the reservations, usually gave recognition to leaders chosen on the basis of their acculturation to the Anglo culture, rather than on the basis of their ability to represent the tribe. Thus, leaders chosen by Anglos tended to be young, to have been educated in federal boarding schools and to be relatively acculturated in the Anglo ways. In consequence, the once unified indigenous leadership in the Indian village became heterogenous factionalism based on a relative degree of acculturation. (Spicer, 1962.)

d) Reorganization Period. In 1934, the allotting process was terminated and a completely different approach to the process of acculturation was adopted by the government. While the Indian had been deprecated for many years by the Anglos, the Indian Reorganization approach encouraged Indianness, the development of an Indian self-government, and the use of public schools for the education of Indian children. The redevelopment of an economic system on the reservations was started through numerous federal programs. While up to 1934, the approach to acculturation had been peculiarly negative and forceful, after the New Deal the approach became much more positive and permissive in its programs. The goals, however, continued to be those of eventual acculturation.

However, this period of reorganization did not last very long and another more recent period can be identified introducing a new solution, termination.

e) Termination Period. By 1953, under President Eisenhower, Public Law 280 was passed, authorizing the lifting of the Federal trust from Indian properties, doing away with the Indian self-government, imposing on them the state civil and criminal codes and enforcement machinery as well as casting the properties on local tax-rolls. (Baerreis, 1956:3.) Termination for two of the most economically and socially stable reservations, Klamath and the Menominee reservations, was promptly carried out with disastrous results.[1]

This same approach gave rise to the Relocation Program, presently called Employment Assistance Program, which provides support and technical training to the Indian willing to leave his rural reservation for any large urban center of his choice.

In other words, the goals of acculturation for the Indian have not been abandoned. Many different ways of achieving assimilation have been tried, although most of them were eventually abandoned after their failure became evident. Now, thirty years after the institutionalization of a much more permissive approach, progress is still quite normal.

Apart from the programs introduced by the Federal government, other agencies have been intensively involved in this attempt to acculturate the Indian population.

Education was formally introduced and became directly involved in the process of acculturation. Under the Act of June 7, 1897, the Bureau of Indian Affairs provided payment to sectarian schools for the education of Indian children. By the end of the 1800's, however, a dispute developed between the religious schools who wanted to keep bilingual policy, and the government who wanted only English spoken in the schools. The problem slowly subsided and the mission schools were replaced by Federal schools. (Meritt, 1922:6-7,27.)

Institutional dislocation was already quite evident, for the Indian family had no power or role to play in setting up policy for the education of the young. This situation precipitated some resistance as the attempt

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[1]The wisdom of terminating both the Menominee and the Klamath reservations was challenged by the Wisconsin Legislature and a senate Committee based on reports from both Indian and non-Indian leaders that termination meant the loss of land by the Indians who were not prepared to handle their affairs and to develop a community economically stable enough to survive as such. Empirical studies indicate this to be so. (Hartley & Weibe,1960; 398-453; Ames & Fisher, 1959:101-111.)

to make "white" adults out of Indian children was perceived by the family. The Anglo teacher, seeing this resistance as a threat to rapid acculturation, responded by setting up the federal boarding school. There were many specific devices in these schools to overcome Indian culture such as taking Indian children as early as possible from their homes, mixing children from different tribes, prohibiting formal native worshipping, severe punishment for speaking Indian language, etc. But these policies failed to acculturate the Indian, for while breaking the Indian social institutions, the Anglo programs failed to establish the Anglo social institutions as a meaningful means to satisfy the needs of the Indian population. The boarding schools, for example, provided only an incomplete atmosphere of Anglo culture: the inability to provide Anglo primary group relationships for the Indian children was a major obstacle in their acculturation. The era of the boarding schools as a must for all Indian children ended after 1928 when a nationwide survey of Indian education facilities published by Lewis Meriam (1928) showed that 27% of the Indian students were retarded five years or more in their education.

The Reorganization Act of 1934 actually reversed the trend of forceful acculturation. Although the goal of acculturation was never abandoned the means became permissive. The program recommended giving students understanding and appreciation for their own tribal lore, art, music, and community organization, and encouraging the students to become involved in community affairs, develop higher standards of living, and use some degree of self-determination. (Baerreis, 1956:21.) The same year the use of public schools was greatly encouraged through the Johnson-O'Malley Act which provided a flexible system of contracts and grants-in-aid by the federal government for the education of local Indian youth.[1]

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[1]The system of sending or permitting Indian children to attend public school in the Anglo communities is on the basis of a contract between the Federal Government and the respective school boards. The public schools are paid so much for every Indian child attending and the child is considered and given the same services and privileges as other children. There are specific problems and challenges which have developed from this system and an evaluation of its advantages and disadvantages would constitute an important study.

For different reasons, there are still many Indian children who attend school within the reservation. These are called day schools, and include only some of the elementary grades. These schools are under the complete control of the Federal Government but are not boarding schools. It is from these day schools that older children later go to public and federal junior high and high schools. The day schools have their own structural problems, not the least of which is the almost absolute irrelevancy for the child of academic training and the culture of the textbook to his reservation daily life and reality. (Collier, 1947:158.)

However, problems are still present. The Bureau of Indian Affairs published the information that 60% of the youth drop out of school before completing high school as opposed to 40% for the nation as a whole. (Today's Dropouts - Tomorrow's Problems, 1959.) Educators are aware of the fact that the Indian child is not oriented to American educational values and goals and that he needs to learn an entirely new set of values which the public schools usually take for granted in the child. (A Program for Indian Citizens, 1961:31.) Yet as stated in the present study, the Indian family cannot prepare the individual for interaction in the other institutions.

Meanwhile the reservation day schools are plagued by a basic lack of communication between the Indian reservation community and the B.I.A. Some authors have reported that this break in the communication between the two important groups of adults brings about the isolation of the children who develop a powerful peer group and effectively sabotage the efforts of the teachers. This is exemplified by the dropping out of half of the children before entering high school, with only one third of those entering high school graduating, leaving the graduates to be one sixth of the population. (Wax, Wax, and Dumont, Jr., 1964.)

The same authors suggest that this lack of motivation to upward mobility through education and occupation is related to the Indian's view of a job as a means to get an income rather than as a means to gain status. For status, to the Indian, is gained mainly through serving others in the community, giving advice, and aiding wherever possible. (Wax, Wax, and Dumont, Jr., 1964.)

A survey on college education among Indians (McGrath et al, 1962) suggests that although Indians have the same innate ability as white students, they typically are one to two years behind white students with respect to academic progress. And although only the best qualified among the Indian youth go to college, and although they are usually financially supported through scholarships, there is an unusually high drop-out rate. As a typical example, the University of New Mexico reported that while 49% of their Anglo freshmen eventually dropped out, 70% of the Indian freshmen did so. Their main problem was found to be low scholarship and high dependency on the faculty. (McGrath et al, 1962:27-28.)

Anglos generally believe that education is the answer to the Indian problem. However, there is a strong indication that, as long as education is not seen by Indians in the same light as it is seen by Anglos (i.e., as a means to enter the economic system and eventual occupational and material success) it will not endure as a goal for them.

Another institution highly involved in the goal of acculturation for the Indian, is religion. Of course, religion's avowed goal is individual change of values through conversion. The lack of success in religious conversion is best exemplified by a statement made by a Protestant missionary in 1893 (Among the Pimas, 1893) to the effect that the young Indian should be educated, separating him for years from his tribe's influence, but that nothing could be done for his parents. This approach and this attitude is

still prevalent at present, three to four generations later. Many present-day ministers and priests feel that, separated from their parents, children can be influenced into behaving like Anglo middle class, and often their measure of success with an individual is the degree of alienation he manifests between himself and his people.[1] On the other hand, most recognize that this success is generally of short duration as most youths go back to the reservation and resume eventually their old way of life.

Such contradictory approaches to the goal of changing the cultural and social organization of a people resulted in unbalanced changes in the structure and function of Indian institutions. All basic institutions, family, education, economy, government, and religion, were significantly affected or destroyed and semi-replaced by Anglo social structures and organizations.

For the purpose of the present study, a brief review of these changes and their concrete results is presented with specific reference to one tribe: the Pima of Arizona.

B. The Specific Case of the Pima Indians.

The Pima of Arizona have lived for centuries in the area which they now call home, an area that became American territory after a short war with Mexico. (Spicer, 1963:132-133.) They had earlier contact with Spaniards and Mexicans but they were never christianized by the Mexicans. Their physical isolation from Mexican populated centers and the strategic position of their country for water and food supply for early American southwestern travel, made the Pima better acquainted with Anglos. In 1870, the core of Pima country became the Pima reservation. (Underhill, 1939:88.)

The Pima have been farming their land for hundreds of years. They and their relatives, the Papago, called themselves THE PEOPLE. The Papagos were the Desert people, for they lived in a place with little water, but the Pimas, who lived along the Gila River, were called the River people.[2]

Traditionally, the Pima were sedentary farmers. They wore cotton clothes, which they spun themselves, and wore sandals. They dug irrigation ditches for their fields and grew cotton, corn, beans, and squash. They hunted the deer, jack rabbits, and cottontails, as well as ground squirrels, quail, and doves. Roots, cactus prickly pears, and berries and other wild fruits were gathered. The men made rope and the women made baskets. (Underhill, 1939:3-4)

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[1]Personal interviews with the clergy on the reservation.

[2]The Spaniards gave the Pima their name after they noticed that these Indians kept answering all questions with "pi nyi matc" which means, I don't know. It is said that the Spaniards thought they were saying their name and called them Pimas. (Underhill, 1939:14.)

The Pima were divided (patrilineally) into clans but the political unit was the village. Although most of the power was actually wielded by a council, the village named a head man who functioned as both judge and shepherd to his people, settling their quarrels and setting the dates for religious ceremonies. His main function was to keep the sacred rituals and pass them on to a successor of his choice who had to be approved by the village.

Two other leaders were also important to the village. The war leader took over in time of war and one of his main functions was to recite the magic speeches that would take away the enemy's power. The hunt leader was also the game leader and in those capacities, he directed both the hunts for deer and rabbits, reciting magical speeches, and the races and kick-ball games between different villages. All three positions had the dual function of leader or men and priest. But, as mentioned before, in actuality, though they had some influence, they had no real authority. (Spicer, 1962.) Every decision in the village was made by the men of the tribe meeting in council. All the men of the village could attend the council but only men over thirty participated actively in the discussion. Action was taken only after a consensus of opinion was established, this consensus being encouraged by the head man who patiently reworded again and again the traditional ways of solving problems.

The Pima were a peaceful people who only went to war in order to protect themselves, mainly from the fierce Apaches who often attacked their villages and carried off horses, women and children. (Spicer, 1962: 373-379; Underhill, 1939:128-129.) Among the Pima, the making of a warrior suggested some ambivalent feelings about war and the related aspects of conflict. For example, during the battle, those who killed an enemy withdrew immediately from the battlefield to start a sixteen-day purification period. This in fact, prevented these enemy killers from receiving the honors due to the victors and those in the war party who had not killed were the ones who were honored. However, after the purification the enemy killer was allowed to keep the scalp he had taken and this gave him great power and prestige in the village, though this power and prestige were related more to the purification experience than to the actual killing. The Pima believed that the hero or brave man should not be given praises and gifts, but that he should be humble and almost afraid of his power until he was sure he could use this power well. (Underhill, 1939:136-138.)

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[1]This description of the cultural characteristics of the Pima will emphasize their general value orientations and outlook of life. Apart from being relevant to the knowledge of the people here studied, this emphasis on value-orientations is directly relevant to the study as some of the major variables are concerned with mobility orientation and mobility skills part of which are being measured in terms of the cultural values of the population. The description here is guided by the theoretical framework of the pattern variables but a discussion of these analytical tools is to be found in the Appendix.

Culturally, self-discipline was extremely important among the Pima.[1] Aggressive behavior, often quarrels, or exchange of harsh words were highly criticized, while withdrawal was expected in case of anger. (Underhill,1939: 113-115.) Emphasis was placed on being generous within as well as outside the tribe, on following difficult and unrewarding religious ceremonies, on working patiently for the status and prestige obtained through conformity to social expectations and to traditions. A good man, a useful member of the group, was supposed to be peaceable and loyal, industrious and generous with his gifts, as well as full of common sense to help the community, and without radical ideas that make unity hard to achieve. The goal of such a man was to achieve the status of a responsible patriarch, able to support and protect others. A good woman was an industrious woman. (Underhill,1959:195-196.)

Self-control was encouraged in everyone. Children were carried on cradle-boards until able to walk. Later, after an early childhood characterized by leniency, the child was taught without praise or punishment, but firmly. The tenets of the moral code taught to the youth were industry, fortitude, and swiftness of foot. Aggressive courage was discouraged while enduring hardship was encouraged. These tenets were taught through speeches about these virtues, speeches which were constant but unagressive repetition of the community expectations, and which eventually created a profound and unconscious unity of sentiment. (Underhill, 139:82-83, 127.)

Among the Pima, the community always came before the individual. As it was mentioned before, consensus had to be established before any council decision could be made. The acquisition of personal power was not encouraged. As mentioned earlier, the "enemy-killers" were prevented from getting direct reward for their action in battle by the long and rigorous period of purification. The deviant who, through unexpected and untraditional suggestions, disturbed the consensus of the council, was criticized and ridiculed by the rest of the members. Attempting to gain personal benefits at the expense of the community was severely punished, and the authority of the three types of leaders among the Pima was concentrated to religious areas, while the older men of the tribe in fact ruled. (Underhill, 1939:196.)

Another way in which this orientation was expressed was the method of punishment for the deviant. First, the deviant was given back to his family with the recommendation that his behavior be changed. If the family was unable to pressure the individual into conformity, the family itself selected one of its members to accompany the deviant in exile, and the plan was presented to the council and carried out with their approbation. Again the welfare of the community came first. Exile meant sure death to the deviant if he were on his own, so one member of the family volunteered to sacrifice himself for the deviant as well as for the community. (Underhill, 1939:118.)

When disaster struck, it was the obligation of the community to help the sufferers, the most generous man getting the most credit. In such case, no definite return was expected, except for general respect and good will. (Underhill, 1939:101.)

This whole approach to community life emphasized passivity even and perhaps particularly among the great who were expected to derive their sense of importance through feeling in unity with the group, and through serving themselves last.

Among the Pima, great emphasis was placed on the acceptance of traditional solutions to problems. (Underhill, 1939:83; Spicer, 1962:374-375.) This is exemplified by the way decision-making was arrived at by the tribal council. As mentioned earlier, consensus of opinion was expected in decision making and this consensus was facilitated by the head man patiently reworking again and again the traditional (and successful) ways accepted by the tribe in similar previous problematic situations. The innovating of ideas was discouraged in the council as it was seen primarily as disturbing to the development of consensus. Moreover, wisdom was seen as the acceptance and knowledge of traditional problem-solving devices.

Education also indicated this tendency. Children were told by an older member of the family the traditions of the tribe. During this stage of learning, questions were discouraged. The emphasis was on the rote memorization of such tales. Questioning was said to be proper only among mature adults. (Underhill, 1939:127.) The moral code of the Pima was also taught through speeches which were constant but unagressive repetition of these community expectations. These calmly but repeatedly advocated virtues eventually created a profound and unconscious unity of sentiment.

The Pima developed a great sensivity to reproach and ridicule by the community. (Underhill, 1939:114-115.) The community presented a united front in the socialization of the Pima child, and public opinion as expressed by those around him, reinforced the universally accepted traditions of his people.

Although among the Pima age was often identified with wisdom, not all aged were rewarded equally. Similarly, honored positions were not hereditary, even though it was not unusual to see a son succeed his father. At all times there seems to have been recognition given on the basis of achievement. (Underhill, 1939:160-163, 179.)

For example, the Pima recognized the existence of foolish old men and these were discouraged from participating in the council decision-making processes. (Underhill, 1939:78-83, 195-196.) The recognition of the old was particularly related to their ability to serve and economically support others. In this culture, where survival was one of the main purposes of social activities, the young adults had no time to develop technical skills except those necessary for survival. And it was up to the older people who had lost the strength of body to fulfill the ordinary tasks necessary for survival, to develop less physically strenuous skills. They were the ones who developed the art of basket weaving, cloth weaving, and pottery. By the same token, they were often the only ones who accumulated enough surplus among the commodities they manufactured, to barter. This in turn, gave older people high prestige and power in the family, power and

prestige based more on their ability to produce and to help the family than on mere aging process. (Underhill, 1939:91-92.)

Among the young adults, the same system of rewards existed. A good woman was an industrious woman. A good man was a useful member of the community, peaceable and loyal, industrious and generous with his material possessions. His social origin might give him special opportunities to learn skills prized and rewarded by his group, but his failure to learn these skills would prevent him from achieving a high position on the social structure. (Spicer, 1962:374.)

As mentioned earlier, the Pima emphasized generosity. (Spicer,1962: 478; Underhill, 1939:6.) This generosity, apparently, was formally institutionalized, in that traditional rules were established and usually observed. The range of obligations between tribe members was so wide that it even involved their relatives, the Papagos, who often went north to visit with the Pimas during their dry spells.

This obligation for others was taught very early to children as they were asked to help their parents in the distribution to neighbors of the best parts of, for example, a recently killed piece of venison, while the family kept the least desirable parts. This behavior was highly rewarded among the Pima who considered generosity with food as an investment for the tomorrow.

The Pima expected each gift to be reciprocated in terms of quantity and kin, and the giving of perishable food was like putting savings in a bank. To facilitate this reciprocity, baskets, bowls, or nets had patterns of color showing readily the size of gifts. In returning the gifts, to fill it over the line was considered an act of virtue but to fill it short of the line was to commit social suicide. Reputation of stinginess could ruin all future prospects for an individual, both at the village level and at the extended family level. On the other hand, the lavish giver achieved both honor and continuous income. Food hoarding was one of the major crimes among the Pima, punishable by social ostracism which usually resulted in economic deprivation, social loneliness, and humiliation. (Underhill, 1939:100-101.)

The above general description of Pima cultural values gives a good indication of the content and functionality of Pima social institutions. It appears also that all their institutions had functional inter-relationship, that is, there was institutional integration.

C. Development of Institutional Dislocation Among the Pima.

With somewhat different processes from those of other tribes, but with similar consequences, the Pima social institutions suffered the impact of disruption and disorganization with the coming of the Anglo. After the failure of the Anglo acculturation, institutional dislocation became the pattern in the social life of the reservation, the family being

practically the only meaningful social unit to the individual. What follows is a brief description of this process as it affected each of the major institutions of the Pima.[1]

a) The Economic System: Before the coming of the Anglos, most Indians perceived land, water, and their products as owned in common by the tribe. The Pima also had a socialistic approach to the economy. The Pima who plowed, plowed for everyone in the community, being repaid in service or kind by those he had helped. The care of the fields and the harvesting were performed at the community level too. Exchange of service, goods, or good will was expected in community relationships.

This economic system, supported by fertile land and abundant water, was very successful and the Pima (the River people) were regarded as a rich tribe able to help their relatives the Papago (the Desert People) in time of need. This economic system resulted in an economy of abundance in good will in a setting where hoarding was difficult for lack of technological advances. (Underhill, 1939:101-104.)

The arrival of the Spaniards reinforced the Pima economic system by introducing new tools, and new and successful crops such as wheat. When the Anglos came through and met the Pima, they were welcomed with good will as well as with food and other goods and they repeatedly declared that the Pima were the "most civilized Indians in the United States." (Spicer, 1962:147, 343.)

The Federal Government did not interfere but encouraged the Pima's farming and, countrary to other tribes whose economic system was broken down as they were transferred to a reservation, the Pima continued to prosper: their cultivated land reached 15,000 acres in 1858, and many more acres were dedicated to grazing of the cattle. Their willingness to trade and readiness to give food to travelers, made this area a crossroad in the west. The stage line between El Paso and San Diego was routed through the Pima villages. During and after the Gold Rush, some 60,000 Anglo travelers went through Pima country. (Spicer, 1962:147.)

The breaking down of the economic system came unexpectedly through the hoarding of the waters from the Gila river by Anglo farmers. By 1869, the Pima crops were failing and although some individual Indian agents attempted to defend the Indian water rights, the government did nothing. By 1895, the government had to issue food rations to the tribe. Between 1903 and 1910, however, one group of school-educated Pimas, working cooperatively, dug fifteen wells but could not solve the large scale problem. (Kelly, 1953.) In 1914, the allotment program took place among the Pima

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[1]This brief description is not a study of these institutions but only a number of general statements, based on participant observation and on some empirical studies, for the purpose of showing the decline of institutional life in Indian society. It is a partial documentation for the claim of institutional dislocation among the Pima.

and allotments of ten-acre plots were awarded. It was not until 1924 that the San Carlos Project Bill for the construction of a dam which would provide water for the Pima, was passed. There were high hopes on the part of the Pima and their friends that water would solve their economic problems. However, by the 1930's when they finally were given some irrigation water which by then they had to share with white farmers, interest in farming had definitely declined. Since then, except for a tribal farm which was started by the B.I.A. in 1951, most arable land has been leased to Anglo farmers. (Spicer, 1962:147-151; Annual Report of Executive Committee of the Indian Rights Association, 1916, 1916, 1919; U.S. Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1946-67.)

The Pima today have no stable economic system of their own. While a number of Pimas work more or less steadily off the reservation, mostly in unskilled jobs, many prefer leasing their land to Anglo farmers, living on the monthly rent and on wages from occasional work for the leasees. For the small number of families making some kind of a living by working the land, figures for 1953 indicate that, on the Gila River reservation, the median income from agriculture was $750 a year. The median income for wage earners was $1,500 a year per family. However, 41% of the Pima families were on either total or partial welfare. Outside the reservation area, the 1953 estimated annual average income for Anglos was $4,000 per family. (Kelly, 1953:64-65.)

The Indian agricultural prospects are particularly precarious if we take into consideration that the trend in American agriculture is toward larger and larger farm units in a more and more highly mechanized industry. On the reservation, allotment and subsequent subdivision of allotments resulted in small land units which can only become inadequate subsistence farms. Federal programs have encouraged subsistence farming among the Pima, but this type of farming seems to have lost its meaning for the Indian as a way of life. (Spicer, 1962:350,543-546.) The result has been less involvement by the Pima in their own economic system which is looked upon as a source of occasional employment and a source of supply for their immediate physical needs. The most dysfunctional result, however, has been the taking away of the main means of self-validation for the Pima male.

b) Government: The Pima, like most other American Indian tribes , had no hereditary ruler. Each village had its own leadership, leadership roles given to older members of the community who had demonstrated their acceptance of the traditional values of the tribe. A moral leader was selected on the basis of his stability of character and his speaking ability. This moral leader was never an autocratic figure, his role consisting mostly of reminding his people of the right way to handle their problems and disputes in all areas including religion. He was given no authority to enforce his recommendations, moral exhortation being his only recognized tool. However, as each village was an extremely cohesive and homogeneous unit, the work of the leader was extremely influential as it usually represented the values of the majority.

This moral leader was helped by a council consisting of the elders of the village. Consensus in this council was arrived at through each member re-interpreting current problems in terms of the traditional "right" ways of old. Eventually, decisions were made through unanimous agreement.

In time of war, a different but temporary leadership sprang up, this time among the younger men, the warriors, who often acted against the expressed feelings of the moral leader and his council. This leadership only functioned during crises with the external world, mainly with their traditional enemies the Apaches, the moral leader resuming his role immediately after the crisis was over. (Spicer, 1962:373-379; Underhill, 1939: 83-88; Kelly, 1953:8.)

This government, strongly based on the homogeneity of values and attitudes in the villages, was not understood or respected by most Anglos. And as the B.I.A. took over the responsibility of managing the affairs of the reservation and under the impact of the Anglos' subtle or outright disregard of indigenous leadership, the Indian village government eventually disappeared as an institution in Pima life.

At the beginning of the reservation life, the role of the Anglo superintendent had been merely to supervise the distribution of rations. With the mounting crisis in connection with the lack of water, the superintendent's function shifted to the economic improvement of the reservation, educational improvement of the children, and the enforcement of law and order. To carry out these functions, the superintendent usually called on young Pimas educated in the Anglo Boarding schools. These young men were neither the recognized leaders nor the representatives of their villages. This fact was usually ignored by the superintendents who, therefore developed a devastating factionalism in the reservation. Moreover, the autocratic system of reservation government demanded that the Pima go directly to the superintendent in case of difficulty rather than appealing to community organizations. Another unfortunate feature of the B.I.A. reservation administration was that the superintendent, contrary to all principles of American government, was and still is, reponsible to and rewarded by his superordinates in Washington or the area office rather than by the group he administers. This, of course, prevented the development of a symmetrical power relationship and of social control mechanisms in the new bi-cultural community. (Spicer, 1962: Ch. 5,13.) All this eventually resulted in the habitual dependence of reservation Indians on one man, dependency which developed into a complex of behavior which some authors have called: reservation culture. (Ames and Fisher, 1959:105.)

With the advent of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, the Pima were organized under a constitution and by-laws and their tribal corporate charter was ratified in 1938. Since then, the Pima reservation was divided into two geographical areas: the Salt River reservation, north of Tempe, Arizona, and the Gila Reservation, south of Tempe and Phoenix. At present, each reservation has a tribal council composed of elected representatives of all districts. The jurisdiction of both councils, however, is quite narrow in scope. They are primarily concerned with the management of tribal property and tribal business enterprises, and with giving

permission to non-Indian groups to undertake given activities on Pima land. They are also occasionally approached by individual Pimas who express urgent needs which the council may or may not grant, using their tribal funds.[1]

Although the establishment of a reservation government body may have greatly enhanced the Pima self-image, in reality the council may be more accurately compared to the board of a corporation. Most of the decisions on the reservation are still made by the superintendent who is appointed by the B.I.A., is usually Anglo, and continues being more responsible to Washington than to the people he serves. The overwhelming power and authority held by the superintendent is clearly illustrated by comparing the budget of the council with the budget of the B.I.A. superintendency for the year of 1953. The year's budget for the council was $19,000, which amount covered the salaries and expenses of the tribal officers and of the part-time Anglo tribal attorneys. On the other hand, the same year, the B.I.A. budget was $897,976, distributed to cover programs of health, education, welfare, soil and moisture, maintenance of buildings and utilities, irrigation construction, extension, land and management, administration, etc. (Kelly, 1953:63-65.)

Moreover, decisions by the council about the use of tribal land are often initiated, interpreted, and implemented by the superintendent as observed, for example, in the case of the Salt River reservation. In 1964, the superintendent was seeking the tribal council approval to develop, with Anglo funds, guidance, and administration, a high-class Anglo residential area on a portion of the reservation land, which plan was viewed at the time as the eventual source of substantial income for the tribe. (Coldwell, Banker & Company, 1964.)

It is evident that the Pimas have limited participation in decision-making with respect to their own political or governmental needs. Government in the reservation is for the Pimas but not <u>by</u> or <u>of</u> them.

c) The Family: Traditionally, the family unit among the Pima was extremely cohesive and composed of related conjugal family units. The range of obligations included the village as a whole as well as a neighboring tribe, the Papagos, when these were in need of food during the winter. Division of labor rather than dominance subordination characterized the relationship between the two sexes in the family. The older people were ascribed high positions on the social structure and this was related to both their role as teachers of the traditional values and culture to the children, and their role as the only producers of surplus

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[1]These tribal councils have a secretary who is really the one who keeps the unit organized as an ongoing concern. Each council has also one or more lawyers to take care of the reservation legal business. In both Pima reservations the secretaries and all the lawyers are Anglo men who live outside the reservation. This arrangement is probably not unique to Pima reservations.

goods like blankets, bowls, baskets, etc.

The strong cohesive unit of the Indian family soon was attacked by the Anglos. In 1879, Captain R. H. Pratt founded the Carlisle Indian school based on the theory that to acculturate the Indian, children should be removed physically from their parents as early as possible and for as long as possible. The children were prevented from seeing their parents for years and in the schools where they were kept, Indian values and folkways were consistently attacked through ridicule and punishment. (Forbes, 1964:113.)

This attempted acculturation process became a disturbing and traumatic experience for the Indian children as well as for the Indian parents. The schools had inferior staffs, miserable housing facilities, inadequate food, constant over-work, military routine, and often genuine cruelty. The children felt punished for being Indian but were actually given no rewarding alternative value system. (The New day for the Indians, 1938:10.) The principle of effective socialization through primary group relationships was thoroughly ignored and the result was mostly the successful disruption of that generation of families as well as insuring the failure to achieve their future acculturation to Anglo society.

This approach was first challenged by the Meriam report (1928) which demonstrated the weaknesses of the boarding school system and questioned its ability to carry out its goals of education. (Officer, 1956:20-21.) This battle against the boarding school system was taken up in 1929 by the Secretary of the Interior and the Indian Commissioner and later by the Indian Reorganization Act which encouraged the attendance of the Indian children to Anglo public schools whenever and wherever available. (Collier, 1947:154.)

The family unit was threatened not only from without, but also from within the group, through the disintegration of the economic system. When the successful Pima farming activities were interrupted by the lack of irrigation water, the Pima male lost not only his main source of economic well-being but an important means of self-validation. Along with this, as mentioned before, other means of self-validation became closed to him, such as developing leadership qualities or demonstrating collectively orientation through giving away his surplus. The Pima female, to some extent, could retain ways to validate herself for her family roles were modified only gradually. The charge was easier for the female to tolerate but she was not immune by any means.

At present, the Pima family is rather unstable. Short-lived common-law unions take place often and result in numerous broken families. Unemployment and heavy drinking, including alcoholism, are widespread.[1]

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[1]Based on personal observation by the writer, as well as on the basis of interviews with two social workers on the Pima reservations and with the Police Commissioner at the Salt River reservation.

d) Religion: The christianization of the Pimas was started by a Presbyterian minister, Reverend Cook, who first worked on the reservation from 1868 to 1878 as a school teacher, and through the 1880's and 1890's as a missionary. His progress at first, was very slow but after succeeding with one important family, he promptly baptized nearly half the tribe around 1899, establishing Presbyterian churches throughout the reservation.

To him is attributed a temporary re-establishment of community leadership centering around the new religious organization. The Pima were given the leadership of church affairs, local ministers were trained to do the preaching, and annual revival meetings took the place of the old Pima ceremonies. (Spicer, 1962:149-150, 519-520; Among the Pimas, 1893.) Reverend Cook's influence, however, lasted few years beyond his retirement in 1911.

Later, the Franciscan Order established a Catholic mission and a school among the Pima, converting about one third of the tribe. (Spicer, 1962:522.) In the 1920's and 1930's, a number of unorthodox sects like the Holiness Church, Assemblies of God, Church of the Nazarene, etc., sent missionaries on the two reservations. Their approach was both social and religious so that typically a sect, through generous giving of food, clothing, and other charity, quickly acquired both adherents and social influence. However, since in exchange for material help the sects demanded strict adherence to behavior codes which usually went radically against well-established Indian customs, their influence was soon lost. (Spicer, 1962:525-526.)

At present, most Pimas are Presbyterian, Catholic, or members of one of the minor sects. Pima religious rites have practically disappeared. One last rite still practiced is that of cremation of the dead among the Maricopas, the small tribe who has settled on the Pima reservation. This rite, however, is dying out as knowledge of the proper ritual to conduct such ceremony is not taken up by the younger men in the tribe.[1]

A brief and unsuccessful attempt to return to the old days was attempted in 1918, by Dr. Carlos Montezuma, an influential Yavapai Indian whose campaign was primarily anti-B.I.A. with limited religious implications.

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[1]The author learned of a cremation ceremony during the summer of 1964, while in the field of research. Many of those officiating were of the opinion that the ceremony would probably be the last one in the history of the reservation. The old man who was directing the singing (which lasted five hours) was at that time 75 years of age and apparently no one else had learned the complete singing ceremony which has been his responsibility for many decades. The Pima do not cremate their dead. But cremation has been practiced on the reservation by the small number of Maricopa Indian families who have lived among the Pima for many years and are counted as part of the tribe for the purpose of this study.

Occasionally, some indigenous Christian sects have developed among the Pimas. but rather than getting an orientation to Pima culture, they have upheld the most extreme of the Protestant expectations, like standing against smoking, drinking, card-playing, gambling, and couple dancing, and evaluated negatively the Pima ways. (Spicer, 1962:522-523.)

Typically, however, the lack of integration of Christian principles into the Pima code of behavior is very obvious. Personal observation by the writer and interviews with both Catholic and Protestant clergy revealed great disillusionment and helplessness of the part of these men in their hope to inculcate Christianity to their parishioners. One typical example of the lack of involvement on the part of the Pima with any given Christian church is the enthusiastic response by most of them to any parties or special events organized by any of the local churches without regard for the sectarian appraoch they represent. Perhaps an index of the failure of Christian churches is their inability to divide the Pimas in terms of church membership.

Here again, the lack of working equilibrium between two institutions, religion and family, is evident as they do not share a common cultural base. This cultural diversity impeded involvement among the vast majority of the Pima families and actually results in the practical rejection of disregard for Christian or at least denominational tenets.

e) Education: Formal education of the young was taken over very early by the Anglos. As early as 1871, Reverend Cook established a school on the Pima reservation. At that time, attendance rates were low as education meant Christian education and the Pima saw it as undermining their own value system. In 1879, the era of the boarding school was introduced and a boarding school of Pima and Maricopa youth was set up in Sacaton two years later. Off-reservation boarding schools also started flourishing all around.

From the beginning, the Pima were favored with more educational opportunities than most of the other Arizona Indian tribes due to their geographical proximity to an urban center. At present, following the Meriam report and the Indian Reorganization Act recommendations, great efforts are being made to send as many children as possible to the Anglo public schools. The day schools on the reservations are limited to the elementary grades and most of the Indian youth of high school age attend off-reservation public schools. The use of the Indian boarding schools is limited to older children with special social problems. (Officer, 1956:12-33.)

Education seems at present, to be universally popular among the Pima. However, education by itself does not seem to be serving the same function as it does among the Anglos, i.e., the principal means to upward mobility by providing rather specific skills useful to and demanded by the economic system.

Among the Pima, high school education is achieved by a rather large number of youth. Opportunities are open through the Employment Assistance

program (formerly called the Relocation program) for post-graduate vocational training and relocation in some large industrial area, off-reservation. Opportunities to go to college are also rather plentiful, with a rather large number of tribal, federal, and private scholarships being available for most desirous Pima youth. (Officer, 1956:90-99.)

In spite of all these free opportunities which should enhance preparation for entrance in the economic system, two main problems are consistently associated with the lack of upward mobility through education among the Pimas.

First, relocation which is considered by the Federal Government as a necessary and successful program for the material welfare of the Indians, requires the breaking off of kinship relationships. This requirement is resisted by the Pima who often drop out of the program after being placed in a situation where they must choose between an urban career and their kinship relationships. Among those who go through the educational and relocation process, the psychological and social cost of breaking off kinship ties is hardly counterbalanced by the questionable material and social achievement of the Indian who usually finds a place among the least successful of the urban residents. Although some students of relocation emphasize the fact that by 1957, more than 12,000 Indians (out of 17,000 studied) were relocated, self-supporting, steadily employed, better housed, better fed, and better clothed than ever before, (Forbes, 1964:122.) others emphasize the stresses of the relocated who suffer from lack of adaptability, unfamiliarity with urban culture, insufficient income, unemployment, substandard housing, and economic and social discrimination. As an example, one study indicated that in a Los Angeles sample of relocated Indian families, every person interviewed mentioned suffering from the problem of alcoholism. (Forbes, 1964:123.)

Second, education in American society has traditionally functioned as an important socializing agent also in areas other than pure scholastic development. The Protestant Ethic has typically been a basic assumption of the educational structure and its tenets reinforced throughout the educational processes.

However, while the educational structure has supported the middle class family in its function as a socializing agent, it has failed in slum areas where the Protestant Ethic is not one of the important elements of the socialization process.

The same phenomenon is present among the Indians. The Indian child, suddenly given a role in a culturally alien institution, has great difficulty in responding according to the desires of his Anglo middle class teacher with her battery of techniques created in the Anglo middle class cultural world, for Anglo middle class children. Lack of communication ensures and few educators find rewarding enough the constant compromises and the tremendous involvement that must be established to introduce the Indian youth to the school and teacher's normative order. (Wax, Wax, and Dumont, Jr., 1964.)

After completion of high school, the Indian youth theoretically ready to join the ranks of college students, is usually ill-equipped scholastically as well as socially and culturally, to cope with the pressures of higher education. Most studies (McGrath et al, 1962:8-31,215-259.) agree that the two major problems the Indian student has are poor scholastic preparation and a lack of adjustment to the Anglo demands of higher education, both stemming from an incomplete acculturation into the Anglo culture, and from what is perhaps more dysfunctional yet, the institutional dislocation on the reservation.

Summary

This review of the literature has primarily emphasized the efforts on the part of the American government to acculturate the Indian. The record shows that this acculturation was never completed due to both inadequacies in the Anglo programs and characteristics in the Indian culture that made difficult a complete acceptance of this new and foreign culture. Then, a more specific perusal of the literature documented the semi-destruction of the Pima Indian institutions. It was stated that institutional integration was not re-established when Pima institutions were replaced by Anglo institutions and that, unless this is done, reservation culture may continue as a phenomenon in the realities of American society.

If the dislocation theory is true, it would explain the past failure of the many programs and projects organized for his rehabilitation. Until a successful linkage is formed between the Indian family and the other social institutions, there may be little hope for the disappearance of "reservation culture." Structural-functional theory suggests that social needs, including individual and group needs are satisfied generally by the development of social structures, the only permanent means through which the cultural imperatives can become manifested in need-fulfilling action. But without institutional integration, social marginality will continue regardless of any amount of unilateral input of economic, educational, and other resources from outside the reservation.

It is the thesis of the present study that among the Pima Indians, specifically, and most probably among other tribes, institutional dislocation, or the lack of functional relationship between the Indian family and the economic and other social institutions, is the social reality in the reservation. This dislocation makes it extremely difficult for the Indian to prepare himself to achieve and maintain a socially and occupationally rewarding position in the highly competitive market place of Anglo society. For though the family institution is not the sole source of social aspiration and means for social achievement, it appears to be the most effective one and in many cases indispensable in placing the individual in the social structure. (Davis, 1949:394-396.)

CHAPTER III

THE THEORY OF INSTITUTIONAL DISLOCATION AS A THEORETICAL FRAME OF REFERENCE

A. Institutional Integration and Its Functions In Human Society

An important contribution of sociological theory is the idea that the culturally based value system is not sufficient alone to determine or explain human behavior. (Parsons & Shils, 1951.) Social systems, in terms of roles, role expectations and sanctions, etc., to a much larger extent determine human behavior. This appears to be so because the elements of the social system are the structural units which integrate functionally the value orientations of the group. Action, in turn, is the product of the functional integration of value orientations as these determine priorities and allocations within the system. In other words, human action is not a product alone of the do's and don'ts of the culture but rather a product of the social structure which is derived from the value system and which demands, facilitates, and rewards conformity to the accepted value orientations in the society.

Thus, a society is organized in terms of institutions, which means that roles, expectations, sanctions, and norms are defined, allocated and organized so that individual need dispositions be satisfied. When individual need-dispositions are satisfied by the functional interchange between the basic social institutions of a society, institutional integration is said to exist.

a) An Example: Institutional integration within the dominant group middle class, white Protestant values, has developed a rather stable equilibrium of functional interchanges. Bell and Vogel (1960) for example, see the conjugal family as a central institution interchanging labor and family assets with the economic system for wages and goods. They also see the family conforming with the polity in exchange for protection, in the form of peace, welfare benefits, etc. With the community, the family exchanges participation and adherence to community norms for support and identity. This exchange between the family and other institutions is made possible due to the ability of the family to transmit to the individual member the basic concepts and attitudes which are related to the role expectations of the other institutions. Specifically, the family prepares the individual entering the economic system with basic attitudes toward work, production, exchange, the value of time, etc., all of which are acquired through family interaction and reinforced through formal training. The individual must have at least some degree of emotional integration and control to permit him to operate adequately. He must have the basic information and attitudes necessary to the performance of tasks in the system he enters. Besides these basic attitudes, motivation and skills, the family must also provide the wage earner with encouragement and the necessary facilities so that he

can continue his participation in the economy. In exchange, the economy must provide wages not on the basis of service alone but on the basis of the family's needs and demands. To enforce these expectations, special organizations like labor unions are developed. (Bell and Vogel, 1960:8-19.)

This same principle, of course, applies to other institutions. The family then, is expected to develop in the individual the proper attitudes, values, and awareness of role expectations and mores, which are functional in his role playing within the various institutional structures. Families who fail in this can generally be expected to produce individuals who are non-achievers.

This input-output model also provides the basic theoretical frame of reference for the understanding of the problem of the traditional lack of social achievement among the Indian population. For the Indian family lacks this institutional integration and is, therefore, unable to prepare its members to meet the expectations of the other institutions. This point can now be elaborated on.

b) Institutional Dislocation Among Indian Populations:

As discussed in the review of the literature, the American Indian lost his social institutions with the exception of the family, and never achieved the functional integration of the latter with the imposed Anglo social institutions in the reservation.

The sudden and violent disruption of his culture and social life made it almost impossible for the Indian to continue his own customary social life as he became wholly dependent for survival on the Anglo institutions. Moreover, the Indian was not only deprived of his institutional organization, but he was left on the reservation isolated from full contact with Anglo social organization.

The social context that constitutes the community, that is, the setting within which the various institutions of society come to have meaning for the individual, was practically destroyed in the Indian society. From that time on the Indian, to make a living, had to interact in overt patterns of relationships based on Anglo society, though covertly those patterns were not of his choice. To worship, he had to follow patterns of interaction which had been introduced by Anglo society and yet never became his own. In his legal or political interaction with whites or even with other members of the tribe, the Indian had to follow patterns of interaction also foreign to him. The education of his children was now formalized into patterns of interaction which were not of his making. In other words, most aspects of social life for the Indian had to take place or be performed on the basis of the Anglo cultural and social systems.

The important thing to consider is that while these institutional settings did permit the Indian to have some type of social interaction, this interaction was a matter of need, i.e. strictly instrumental, rather than a matter of choice or design for living. The only culturally significant interaction which was left to him was that provided by the family unit. And

many of the functions of the family which are usually directly related to structures and functions of the other institutions, became impaired so that even the family interaction was reduced to the most elemental interaction between its members. The family had no say on the economy, no role to play in the government of the tribe, no influence on the organization of the religious life of the community, and no power on the organization of the socialization or educational process for the children. One implication of this type of situation, of course, was the impossibility on the part of the Indian family to transmit to the young the conception, the values, the attitudes, with respect to the role expectations of the other institutions outside the family. To a great extent the Indian family became dissociated from the other basic social institutions. Thus the family was in no position to direct the aspiration of the child, to direct the achievement of whatever aspiration they might be able to transmit, or to insure the permanency of whatever achievement was possible within this type of dislocated inter-institutional setting. For as it has been said before, few Indian individuals were able to aspire to roles or positions in the new structures which are still foreign to them. Among the few who, through some type of special process, were able to aspire, few were able to achieve. Likewise, few of those who were able to achieve were able to maintain their positions in the institutional structure which was not of their making. The family, with no power, without social know-how, without influence, was in no position to direct its members to obtain positions in the other institutions.

This type of condition - called here institutional dislocation - appears even now to be the general pattern of social life in the Indian reservations. Structural-functional theory suggests that when the family does not prepare the individual for outside social participation and role performance in other institutions, many types of individual pathology can be expected. Now when this particular failure in the socialization process becomes the pattern in the families of a given group, not only individual but social pathology can be expected.

It follows then, that if the American Indian, specifically the Pima, has experienced institutional dislocation as previously discussed, no one should be surprised to find in the reservations many aspects of individual and social pathology, including low social achievement, in almost every endeavor.

Of course, the degree of dislocation is likely to vary from family to family. So, in reality, one should expect to find a differential accommodation of individual Indian families to this condition of institutional dislocation. Observation indicates that the range of accommodation is from one extreme to the other. Some families appear to have achieved some measure of adaptation to the Anglo institutions while others appear to have remained almost entirely isolated. And while most families could be expected to be somewhere between the two extremes of adaptation, it appears nonetheless, that the distribution is skewed toward the dislocation end of the continuum.

However, on the assumption that institutional dislocation may not be

universal in the reservation, it was felt necessary to study empirically the extent to which integration may have developed in the reservation and some of the social factors which are related to such integration. Under dislocation, the family is unable to establish a functional relationship with the other institutions and thus is unable to prepare the new generation for full social participation. One manifestation of integration, therefore, would be the existence of mobility orientation and the possession of mobility skills on the part of the Indian youth and the relationship of these elements to some characteristics of their families of orientation which would be functional for their social achievement.

The two family characteristics selected were the family socio-economic stability and family social stability. Thus, if Indian youth manifest a given measure of social aspiration and this aspiration can be related to the socio-economic status and social stability of the Indian family, it may be inferred that the family has been able to perceive and internalize the expectations of the other institutions and also that it has been successful in socializing the child to become aware of these expectations, and also in sustaining him in the process of achievement of his stated aspiration.[1]

B. The Theoretical Model

The input-output model in structural-functional theory is used here as a frame of reference for both the theoretical explanation of institutional dislocation and the empirical study of mobility orientation and skills. First, on the theoretical research problem, the model simply suggests that the Indian family does not perceive the social expectations of the other institutions and is therefore, unable to pass on these to the new generation. Second, on the empirical research problem, the same model suggests that, as dislocation may not be universal, when integration has developed to some degree in the reservation, that it may be manifested in the existence of a measure of social aspiration among the youth as well as in the positive correlation between that aspiration of youth and the socio-economic status and social stability of their family of orientation.

The specific design of the empirical part of the study rests on social mobility theory which suggests that the forces of social organization in an open society are constantly enticing, inviting, pressuring and challenging

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[1]It should be pointed out that in no way is it claimed here that the family unit is the only source of social aspiration or that without its support there is no social achievement. However, in the general case, all evidence indicated that when the family is not involved, the process of social achievement is extremely more difficult for the individual. Social mobility theory and data indicate that greater trauma and greater danger of social failure exists where the family of orientation does not support the individual. The present study, as all statistical studies, is concerned with the general case, not with exceptions.

the individual to abandon the social position and seek another. (Turner, 1964:3.)

It is true that many of the detailed aspects of mobility theory and processes are culture bound, at least for their interpretation. But it is precisely the need to ascertain the extent to which the symbols, values, and mechanics of this process have been understood and accepted by the Indian minority, that the relevance of mobility theory as used in Anglo society becomes evident in the present study.

Thus the main variables included in the empirical study are the mobility orientation and mobility skills of youth and the occupational status and social stability of their parents, all data as reported by the youth.

It is on the basis of this theoretical frame of reference that the empirical study is conceptualized and methodology organized so as to permit the testing of a number of specific hypotheses. The factors concerned with the occupational status and social stability of the parents, as reported by the youth are treated as independent variables, while those factors concerned with the mobility orientation and mobility skills of youth are considered dependent variables. Methodologically most variables are broken into more specific dimensions in order to facilitate the construction of indexes from selected and relevant items.

C. Summary

This chapter was concerned with the presentation of the theoretical frame of reference for the study. It is stated that on the bases of the structural-functional theory, both the theoretical and the empirical parts of the study, though analytically and substantially separate, can be formulated and understood as logically interdependent. The American Indian's traditional failure to achieve is conceptualized and explained theoretically as a function of institutional dislocation. The major support for this explanation is its conceptual formulation from written records and participant observation. This dislocation cannot be assumed to be universal and the specific aspects of any existing integration become an empirical question. The second part of the study, specifically based on some aspects of social mobility theory, is designed to explore the present reality by testing a number of Indian youth.

CHAPTER IV

DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

A. Demographic and Ecological Characteristics

In terms of age, the school population studied included youth from 12 to 21 years inclusive. The median age for boys was 16.0 and for girls 15.4. The sex distribution included 196 (45%) girls and 243 (55%) boys. It is believed that this over-representation of males reflects an unusually high rate of drop-outs on the part of females. Consultation with school personnel indicates that a larger number of girls drop out of school. Some objective confirmation of this conclusion is also obtained through examining the sex distribution by school year or grade. There, we find that there is a high concentration of females in the 9th grade and this diminishes in the higher grades, up to the 12th grade where boys outnumber girls in all schools.

The grades included were 7th through 12th, and the two reservations were Salt River and Gila River. From Salt River, there were 126 youth (29%) and from the Gila River reservation, 313 or 71%. There were 228 (52%) youth attending the public schools and 211 (48%) attending the federal boarding schools, according to the following distribution:

	Number of Students	
Mesa High School	26	(Salt River reservation)
Westwood High School	44	
Casa Grande High School	95	(Gila River reservation)
Coolidge High School	63	
Sherman Institute Riverside, California	101	(65 from Gila River) (36 from Salt River)
Stewart Boarding School Stewart, Nevada	110	(90 from Gila River) (20 from Salt River)

In each school, the girls are under-represented. All together, slightly over 50% of the youth attend public schools. This attendance to Federal schools may be seen as quite high when we consider that entrance is permitted only to those youth with special social, psychological, intellectual, physical, or emotional problems as screened by professional social workers.

With respect to religion, 98% of those contacted identified themselves as belonging to some Christian denomination. The other 2% did not

answer the question. The distribution is as follows:

TABLE I

RELIGIOUS MEMBERSHIP OF PIMA YOUTH BY DENOMINATION

Denomination	Percentages
Catholics	24
Presbyterians	51
Latter Day Saints	13
Other Protestant groups	11
No report	1

As reported before, there are churches from several denominations in both reservations and those Pima who attend church do so on the reservation.

B. Mobility Orientation of Pima Youth

The mobility orientation of the population studied was measured mainly in terms of their occupational aspiration, their educational aspiration and their attitude toward certain materialistic values. What follows is a simple description of their response to the specific items. This is shown in percentages. To facilitate the presentation, the questionnaire items have been paraphrased. Table 2 shows the educational aspiration.

TABLE II

POSITIVE RESPONSES OF PIMA YOUTH TO GIVEN ASPECTS OF EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION

Aspects of educational aspiration	Percentages
Plan to complete high school	86
Plan to continue education beyond high school	62
Would not quit school for a good job now	75
Name specific college in their plans	23
Name specific technical school in plans	16
Are concerned about their future education	68
Show academic orientation in aspired education	37

It is evident that a high percentage of Pima youth indicate a desire for educational achievement. These figures are only somewhat lower than a diversified sample of seniors from the Los Angeles high schools: 61% of the seniors planned to attend college and 18% planned to go to technical school, adding up to 79% wanting to continue their education beyond high

school.[1] (Turner, 1964:56.)

Of course, whether the reported aspiration of the Pima youth will eventually become realized depends on many other factors some of which the present study is designed to analyze. And as other aspects of the mobility orientation of these Pima youth are considered, it appears that the reported educational aspiration may be achieved by only a few if any of them.

The occupational aspiration of these youth also indicates that their mobility orientation is high considering the realities of the reservation. This is shown in Table 3.

TABLE III

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION OF PIMA YOUTH

Level of aspiration	Percentages
High (Warner's 1 and 2)	18
Medium (Warner's 3, 4, and 5)	54
Low (Warner's 6 and 7)	13
No answer	15

The relatively high percentage of no answers may indicate lack of acquaintance with occupational titles, for usually, there were very few "no answers" in other items. Comparing these figures to those obtained by Turner, (1964) who used the same occupational classification used in the present study, we find that 59.5% of his sample indicated a high choice, 38.9 indicated, medium, and 1.7% indicated a low occupational aspiration.[1] Thus, though high in relation to their circumstances, the mobility orientation of Pima youth is still quite low when compared to Anglos. Furthermore, the discrepancy between educational and occupational aspiration of the Pima youth is considerably greater than that of the Anglos in Turner's study. This observation would seem to indicate that education may be regarded by the Pima as separate from other aspects of the mobility syndrome and sufficient in itself to achieve mobility.

More insight can be obtained concerning the mobility orientation of Pima youth by analyzing their response to some items which were selected as indicators of their materialistic orientation. This selection was made on the assumption that relative success in the socio-economic structure of Anglo society requires more or less a "practical" view in social interaction. This is shown in Table 4.

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[1]The above figures are calculated from Turner's Table V, p. 36.

TABLE IV

MATERIALISTIC VALUE OF ORIENTATION OF PIMA YOUTH

Indicators	Percentages Yes	No
Man is respected more for the money he has than for the service he gives to others	13	87
To be respected a man has to have money	13	87
It is better to be generous and poor than stingy and rich	80	20
It is better to be rich, even if disliked than to be respected and poor	21	79

It is obvious that Pima youth reject the statements favoring materialistic pursuits.[1] It should be pointed out that their attitude in this respect is quite compatible with the fact that in the cultural tradition of the Pima, no rationalization is readily available to justify high competition in the pursuit of economic rewards.

Furthermore, since attitudes toward material values can easily be regarded as a function of family influence, it may be concluded that the Pima family is unable to orient and prepare the young for entrance into the Anglo economic system.

The High educational aspiration reported by these Pima youth does not seem to include an understanding that education is directly related to other aspects of the mobility syndrome. Perhaps education is an abstract goal to these Pima youth. But whatever they perceive, they do not seem to see the continuity of the entire process of social mobility in the same terms as the Anglo. There is an indication here of partial or superficial acculturation or at least a selective choice of cultural values from the Anglo world around them.

C. Mobility Skills of Pima Youth

Mobility skills refer to the relevant and proper attitudes, behaviors,

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[1]The same items were presented to a Freshman class of sociology students in a midwestern college campus in 1967. Many factors may make the comparison of the groups indefensible, however, if anything, one could expect college students to be somewhat more liberal or humanistic. The percentage of "yes" answers to the four items were 35, 40, 59, and 48 respectively. On this basis the Pima youth appear to have a decidedly negative materialistic value orientation.

and conditions which an individual has at his disposal in order to facilitate his social achievement, or the realization of his mobility orientation.

The mobility orientation of individuals, even when it is high can often turn to frustration if the relevant mobility skills are lacking. Mobility orientation is mostly in the realm of aspiration while mobility skill is closely related to the dynamics of actual mobility.

As it has been described, some aspects of the mobility orientation of Pima youth are high while others are low. The consideration of mobility skills is perhaps of greater importance because, even more so than with mobility orientation, mobility skills depend greatly on the influence of the family.

In the present case, the mobility skills consist of certain values toward the implementation of their goals (some aspects of affective neutrality, specificity, and universalism), a measure of pro-Anglo orientation, as well as a measure of school adjustment and social stability at the individual level.

As with the previous presentation, the data have been organized in table form. Each table consists of those items included in each index. The items have been paraphrased to facilitate their handling and all responses appear in terms of percentages.

The first mobility skill was measured in terms of some aspects of affective neutrality,[1] and the results are shown in Table V.

TABLE V

PIMA YOUTH ORIENTATION TO AFFECTIVE NEUTRALITY

Indicators	Percentages	
	Yes	No
Would rather go to school now than work and make money	90	10
To save money is a waste of effort	16	84
Education is the only way to get ahead	93	7
To really achieve things in life, luck is necessary	18	82

To provide some sort of standpoint, answers to the same items were obtained from the freshman college class mentioned before. The distribution of "yes" answers was 96, 0, 89, and 10 per cent respectively. The

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[1]Specifically, this refers to deferred gratification as relevant to social mobility.

similarities in the distributions are more important than the differences and they indicate that the Pima youth have a relatively high orientation to these aspects of affective neutrality.

Another mobility skill of particular relevance in the Anglo economic system is the orientation toward specificity in social interaction. The opposite of specificity is diffuseness which, as a value orientation manifested in behavior, is thought to be more dysfunctional in the Anglo society particularly in the impersonal world of the economic institutions. Some aspects of specificity as a value among the Pima youth were measured by a number of items. The distribution of the responses appears in Table VI.

TABLE VI

PIMA YOUTH ORIENTATION TO SPECIFICITY

Indicators	Percentages Agree	Disagree
A man should not sell his land if his neighbors get upset about it	42	58
Relatives who do not share their wealth are not good relatives	47	53
If a relative gets into trouble with the law I'll cover up for him	43	57
I would help my relatives even if it meant real deprivation for me	83	17

The response to the same items by the freshman college class mentioned earlier, indicates that these Pima youth may be somewhat handicapped in terms of this mobility skill. The distribution of the college students' agreement with the items was 14, 11, 14, and 25 percent, respectively. Again, it appears that the Indian family is unwilling or unable to pass on to the new generation the orientation of specificity as a value which, in turn, would constitute a skill in the process of social mobility.[1]

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[1]During the interviews in the field work, Anglos seldom failed to mention critically the orientation to diffuseness on the part of the Pima. This appears to be a major obstacle for the Pima for his successful accommodation to Anglo society. Specific examples were given to the writer: Personnel in the Employment Assistance Program (Relocation) pointed out that the majority of the Pimas who drop from the program do so when they are placed in a situation where they must choose between some inconvenience to the extended family and the completion of the program. In most cases, the conflict is solved by dropping the program, at any stage of completion and complying with the demands or simple expectations of the extended family. Another illustration comes from those Pimas who own a car. Usually they are expected by friends and relatives to take them to and from work which often results in the car owner being late for work himself and eventually losing his job. The value of diffuseness conflicts and wins over

The third mobility skill considered of relevance for Pima youth in this study, was the value orientation of universalism. Universalism as a value orientation has also direct and indirect relevance with respect to the dynamics of social mobility, Some aspects of universalism were measured by several items and the results are shown in Table VII.

TABLE VII

PIMA YOUTH ORIENTATION TO UNIVERSALISM

Indicators	Percentages Agree	Disagree
A true friend would never try to get ahead of you	45	55
The happiest people are those who do things the way their parents did	37	63
I hope to move away from home within the next few years	51	49

In general, it can be said that, in terms of the aspects of universalism included here, a large number of Pimas do not have this mobility skill. The distribution of the "agree" answers from the freshman college class was 0, 4, and 57% respectively. The orientation of universalism as a value and a skill in Anglo society, is acquired mostly within the family structure so that it is again the Pima family who is not preparing the young to enter into the world of the Anglo, particularly with respect to the world of work.

The Pima youth were also tested for another type of mobility skill. It was thought important to determine whether they were equipped, or in the process of becoming equipped, to enter the labor market of Anglo society in terms of more concrete mobility skills. For this purpose the Pima youth were tested about their relative pro-Anglo orientation, their school adjustment, and their social stability.[1] Obviously only certain aspects of the social reality concerning these factors are included in the few items used as indicators.

The distribution of the response to the items on pro-Anglo orientation is shown in Table VIII. And as with the other tables, the items have been paraphrased to facilitate presentation.

(Cont. from Page 34) the values of production, dependability, impersonality, etc., all of which are given priority by the economic institutions of the dominant society.

[1]The definition, justification, and methodological procedure in constructing the relevant indexes for these variables is found in the Appendix.

TABLE VIII

PRO-ANGLO ORIENTATION OF PIMA YOUTH

Indicators	Percentages Yes	No
Would prefer to live off reservation	42	58
Have preference for non-Indian adults	11	89
Make choice of non-Indian friends	7	93

It is difficult to draw conclusions from the above results because of two main reasons: first, lack of standards of comparison, and second, nature of the variable in question. Considering the fact that the test included hundreds of Pima youth and also that the school setting and its educational philosophy - explicitly stated - is to prepare Indian youth to enter and find accommodation in the Anglo world, it might be said that the above distribution shows that the majority of these youth respond as an isolated group, apparently with not enough of them oriented toward the Anglo society. On the other hand, it is interesting to note that 42% say that they would prefer to live off the reservation.

As a mobility skill, the attitude or desire to leave the reservation as part of the pro-Anglo orientation would seem indispensable for those who aspire to technical, skilled, and professional occupations, as the reservation offers little, if anything in terms of occupational opportunities for them.

School adjustment is considered here also as a mobility skill because of the obvious implications for educational and occupational mobility. Again, certain aspects of the social reality of the students were considered as indicators. The responses to these items constitute Table IX.

TABLE IX

SOME ASPECTS OF SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT OF PIMA YOUTH

Indicators	Response Yes	No
Report grade average of A's and B's	18	82
Report high absenteeism from school	32	68
Think studies are difficult	62	38
Have positive self-image as students	7	93

As indicated on the table, absenteeism is a problem for about one-third of the students. The low percentage reporting a positive self-image as students is perhaps the most striking finding. The considerable number reporting A's and B's, appear first to be a definite contradiction to the trend shown by the other items, but further cross-tabulation of the data

partially explains it.[1]

On the basis of these findings, it would seem that a large number of these youth lack the mobility skill, at least in terms of those aspects included in the index of school adjustment in the present study.

The last of the mobility skills was concerned with some aspects of what is here called social stability. The various items were designed to test the relative deviation from, or conformity to, some of the behavioral expectations of the average middle-class youth in Anglo society. A high score in this index of social stability was to be interpreted as a manifestation of possessing a mobility skill. Table X shows the distribution of the youth with respect to each item.

TABLE X

SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL STABILITY OF PIMA YOUTH

Indicators	Percentages	
	Yes	No
Have been in trouble with the law	50	50
Drink alcohol	66	44
Have been drunk at least once	48	52
Have participated in gas sniffing	26	74
Have participated in glue sniffing	25	75

The above figures indicate that a large number of Pima youth face great potential difficulties, particularly because their parents have little or no social power, and therefore, are unable to protect their children from suffering the social consequences of deviant or non-conforming behavior. (Vaz, 1967; Nye, Short, & Olsen, 1958.) From this point of view,

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[1]It was somewhat hard to reconcile this relatively high percentage of students reporting A's and B's with the other reports of high absenteeism and poor self-image, as most counselors of Indian students in the public schools also mer ioned scholarship and absenteeism as the two major problems with the Indian youth. Further cross-tabulation of the data on grades, by school attended, showed that 80% of those students reporting A's and B's were from the two Federal Boarding schools (Riverdale and Sherman) and the other 20% were attending the four public schools. Thus, this concentration of relatively high grades in schools where there is no competition with Anglo students only corroborates the conclusion that the over-all school adjustment of a large number of Pima youth is still problematical.

then, the social stability of many of these Pima youth seems to be rather low and cannot be considered a skill in the mobility process.[1]

As stated before, it appears that even though in some aspects the mobility orientation of Pima youth is high, the over-all conclusion must be that they, as a group, are greatly handicapped. Not only are the other aspects of their mobility orientation rather low, but their mobility skills are also low. Only longitudinal studies of the Pima youth here studied could answer the question concerning their future achievement, but the apparent lack of sufficient skills in a large number of them suggests that much frustration can be expected.

D. Participation in Anglo Culture

The above has been a general description of the findings in reference to the main variables, including some of the control variables under demographic characteristics. Another control variable not included yet is that of the participation of Pima youth in Anglo culture. In this part of the study only a description of the frequency distributions is presented, to show the extent of this participation.

There are two ways in which Indian youth can participate in Anglo society. One is the impersonal way which includes activities demanding little or no inter-personal relationship such as watching T.V., going to the movies, shopping, eating in public places, etc. The other type of participation consists of activities which demand rather close inter-personal relationships, such as having Anglo friends, visiting Anglo homes, etc. Table XI shows the results with respect to impersonal participation.

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[1]The consideration of these aspects of deviant behavior as a measure of social stability is based on the assumption that an important function of the family is the preparation of the youth by protecting him from any personal and social problems which might interfere with his placement in the socio-economic status system of the community. This protection is part of the process in achieving social mobility. Other things being equal, it can be assumed that the youth with greater parental protection can maintain a more socially acceptable social record and thus have greater opportunities for social mobility. It would appear that Pima youth are getting limited protection from their parents.

TABLE XI

IMPERSONAL PARTICIPATION OF PIMA YOUTH IN ANGLO CULTURE

Indicators	Percentages Yes	No
Go to movies at least once a week or watch T.V.	63	37
Eat at restaurants or at drugstore counters at least once a week	21	79
Shop in town at least once a week	27	73

As it is evident in Table XI, Pima youth report high participation in some areas and lower participation in others. Watching T.V. is done mostly at home and it would seem that participation refers to that rather than going to the movies as there are no regular movie houses in the reservation and, as the other figures show, only 27 percent say that they shop in town. There is no regular bus or commercial transportation within, or to and from, the reservation which partially explains some of the apparent isolation.

The findings concerning personal participation are somewhat similar, as shown in Table XII.

TABLE XII

PERSONAL PARTICIPATION OF PIMA YOUTH IN ANGLO CULTURE

Indicators	Percentages Yes	No
Have worked for non-Indian employers in their home	28	72
Attend Anglo dances at least once a month	22	78
Have lived with non-Indians	21	79
Have at least three non-Indian friends	82	18
Visit Anglo friends at their home at least once a month	24	76

Here, again, participation varies according to given areas of interaction: the large number who report having at least three non-Indian friends (82%) are almost equally distributed in the two reservations and among the public and the boarding schools, so this type of interaction apparently involves a cross-section of the school-attending Indian youth. The other aspects of personal participation involve only approximately one-fourth of the Pima youth. Considering the facts that the Indians are the minority, that the reservations are somewhat isolated, and that there is a marked physical difference between the populations, it could truthfully be said that the percentage of participation reported is high. However, the important fact is not the percentage of participation relative to circumstances. The important fact is that approximately three-fourths of the Pima youth in four of the five items report no personal participation.

For the purposes of the present study, it is the latter point which is more important, as it has direct implications for the social mobility of the youth and their entrance into the Anglo socio-economic system.

But even if the participation in Anglo culture is not very high, it is probably true that whatever the amount, it is likely to have some impact on the youth and on the reservation in general.

E. General Characteristics of Parents

Along with the previous description of the relevant social characteristics of Pima youth, it would be helpful to describe the relevant social characteristics of their parents so as to provide a general idea of the family situation from which the youth come. Two factors were measured as perceived and reported by the youth themselves: the occupational status of the father and the social stability of the parents. The first factor included the occupation of the father and some items about his working habits. The second factor included information about the present completeness of the family, the number of marriages, and the drinking habits of both parents.[1] In Table XIII are shown the results concerning the occupational status of the father.

TABLE XIII

FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AS REPORTED BY PIMA YOUTH

Occupational Characteristics	Percentages	
Father's occupation		
High status (Warner's 1 and 2)	3	100%
Medium status (Warner's 3, 4, and 5)	25	
Low status (Warner's 6 and 7)	37	
No occupation reported	35	
Father presently unemployed	47	
Father's work lasts twelve months a year	41	
Father's work absenteeism is high (among those working only)	34	
Place of employment of father		
On reservation but not for the B.I.A.	18	100%
On reservation, for the B.I.A.	15	
Off reservation	20	
Not working	47	

[1]This last item was thought of direct relevance to the population studied and directly pertinent to the problem of investigation. Drinking is a problem in the reservation that reaches community proportions and is regarded by many as directly related to many of the family problems. In personal interviews the Police Chief in one of the reservations related

The figures in Table XIII indicate that the occupational status of a large number of Pima fathers is rather low. In comparing these findings with those of the Los Angeles study previously mentioned, (Turner, 1964) we find that among the fathers of the Los Angeles students, 12% were reported as professionals or semi-professionals, 31% were in business, 38% were skilled and clerical workers, and 18% were unskilled and semi-skilled. The study reported none unemployed.[1]

Equally significant is the report that a large number of Pima fathers work inside the reservation. The implications of this fact for the isolation of these workers from Anglo society would seem to be of direct importance for the socialization of the Pima youth and their introduction and placement in the socio-economic structure of Anglo society. The same is true, only perhaps even more so, for the high number of unemployed Pima fathers. The obvious implication for the sheer economic survival of these families is somewhat qualified by the fact that some Pima families lease their productive land to enterprising Anglo farmers who develop it and work it rather successfully thus providing some rent income for these Indian families.

The absenteeism reported is also high, by any standards. As mentioned before, this is probably mostly related to drinking habits, which in turn would appear to be related to a general lack of occupational identification with the job.

With respect to the social stability of the Pima parents, no standard for comparison is available but some idea of the family situation in the reservations may be possible on the basis of figures reported. These are shown in Table XIV.

(Cont. from page 40) that often on Monday morning, the jail is full, mostly with people suffering from drinking problems. Women constitute an important number and the police often have to allow infants to stay in the jail with their mothers over the week-end.

[1]Figures calculated from Turner's Table 2. Considering only those Pima fathers whose occupation was reported, we find that 4% have a high occupational status, 38% fall in the middle category, and 58% in the low category.

TABLE XIV

SELECTED ASPECTS OF PARENTAL SOCIAL STABILITY
AS REPORTED BY PIMA YOUTH

Aspects of social stability	Percentages
Complete family unit	54
Father never gets drunk	38
Father only married once	63
Mother never gets drunk	64
Mother only married once	65

As it is evident in Table XIV, almost half of the Pima families are reported as incomplete. Data from interviews with professional personnel in the reservation, and also with some families, indicate that separation appears to be the main factor explaining this high number of broken homes. Common law marriage is quite prevalent and divorce is seldom used to break the family.[1] Second and third marriages are not uncommon.

Thus it appears that, in terms of the measure used in this study, a large number of Pima families are not very stable, particularly with reference to ability to sustain and direct upward aspiration of the youth.

F. Descriptive Analysis by Selected Controls

In this section, a descriptive analysis of the main variables is presented by applying some general characteristics as controls and thus obtain more insight by comparing the resulting subgroups of the population studied. Age (under 16, and 16 and over), sex, school (public and federal), religion (Catholic and non-Catholic), reservation (Salt River and Gila River), and differential participation in Anglo culture (impersonal and personal) from the subgroups. These subgroups provide a sharper descriptive analysis of the mobility orientation, mobility skills, and the general social status of the respondents' parents.

The analysis of these main variables by the respective controls

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[1]The reservation community is not subject to the local or state mores or laws. Though federal agencies do their best to maintain the community concept in the reservations, community life, with its usual formal and informal social control mechanisms is very weak. The family in the reservation lacks this community support. It was with the idea of obtaining some information on this aspect of life in the reservation that the items were selected as indicators of what is here called social stability of parents. As a variable, it was thought to have direct relevance to the mobility orientation and mobility skills of the Pima youth.

produced a considerably large number of tables. For purposes of this presentation, however, one single comprehensive table was designed.[1]

Age. The younger group (under 16 years of age) seems to have consistently a slightly higher mobility orientation, while the older group (16 years of age and over) have rather consistently higher mobility skills, like affective neutrality, universalism, and pro-Anglo orientation. On the other hand, the younger group seems to have higher social stability and orientation toward specificity. It is rather interesting to note also that the younger group seems to have more materialistic value orientation than the older group, though the score for both groups is low.

Sex. On the bases of the analysis of several tables, only the highlights of which are shown in Table 15 presented here, it appears that Pima girls have higher mobility aspiration, particularly in terms of occupational aspiration, although the males show higher materialistic value orientation than the girls.

On the other hand, more males seem to have some of the mobility skills, like universalism, pro-Anglo orientation, and school adjustment, but the girls have a much higher score in social stability.

Reservation. When we compare the reservation subgroups we find ambiguous differences between those from Salt River and those from Gila River, even though Gila River is quite rural while Salt River is located almost at walking distance from the largest urban center in Arizona, the Phoenix area, comprising four urban communities: Phoenix, Scottsdale, Mesa, and Tempe.

Occupational aspiration is quite a bit higher among subjects from Salt River, on the other hand, the materialistic value-orientation of Gila River students appears to be higher. If we relate this to the other findings concerning age and sex, it may be suggested that the anti-materialistic value orientation of the older youth and among the girls, may be a reaction to the overwhelming Anglo affluence. Salt River Pimas are more in contact with this affluence, as are the older youth, particularly the boys. It may be that these youth have become more sensitive to their own material underachievement and developed this manifest negative attitude toward materialistic values as a legislative means of self-validation. It may also reflect

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[1]This table shows the distribution of high scorers for each variable for each subgroup resulting from the respective controls. For example, the table shows that 52% of the youth under 16 years of age score high on the index of educational aspiration while only 47% of those 16 years old and over do so. By sex, 46% of the males and 55% of the females have a high score on the same index, etc.

TABLE XV

DISTRIBUTOON OF HIGH INDEX SCORERS BY SELECTED CONTROLS

Indexes	Age		Sex		Reserv.		Schools		Religion		Participation Imp.		Participation Pers.	
	-16	16+	M	F	S.R.G.R.		Publ.	Fed.	Cath.	NonC.	Hi	Lo	Hi	Lo
Mobility Orientation														
Educational Asp.	52	47	46	55	47	51	56	44	38	53	54	47	60	49
Occupational Asp.	19	16	12	25	26	15	28	7	10	21	21	16	20	18
Mat. Value Orient.	6	3	5	3	2	4	4	3	6	3	1	6	2	4
Mobility Skills														
Affective neutrality	85	92	84	92	90	87	88	87	80	90	88	88	88	88
Specificity	37	28	32	36	36	33	33	34	27	36	34	33	31	34
Universalism	19	40	29	25	26	27	24	30	28	27	30	24	37	26
Pro-Anglo Orient.	10	13	15	7	11	12	14	9	12	11	13	11	17	11
School Adjustment	40	41	42	38	39	41	27	55	38	41	40	40	37	40
Social stability	57	39	38	65	53	49	62	37	39	53	50	50	51	50
Occupational Status of father	13	18	13	17	21	12	18	11	6	18	17	13	29	14
Social Stability of parents	61	61	63	58	60	61	70	51	58	62	64	58	63	61

in part their parents' strong and verbal criticism of the Anglo's interest in material achievement.[1]

Schools. The type of school (whether public or federal) attended by the youth was considered from the start as an important factor because of the different educational philosophy and social context of the two school systems. The public city schools, close to the reservations, admit Pima students under a financial arrangement with the Federal Government whereby the school receives a sum for each student. But otherwise, the Indian student, like any other student, is placed in direct competition with all students and without any special concessions. The setting of the Federal boarding school, on the other hand, protects the Indian child from direct competition with Anglo students. The B.I.A. Department of Education encourages the attendance to Public schools when it is thought that the student is able to withstand the challenge. Thus, there is a number of selective factors at work in the composition of these two school populations.

Attending public school seems to be related to high educational and occupational aspiration (specially the latter), to pro-Anglo orientation and to social stability. On the other hand, attending federal schools seems related to universalism and school adjustment.

It is obvious that students attending public schools are exposed to greater social interaction with Anglo students and at least to a measure of Anglo culture. On the other hand, attending Federal boarding school minimizes greatly the perception of relative failure in the student role. The score in school adjustment of these students is twice as high. Thus, Pima students attending school side by side with Anglo students have, as students, a much more negative image of themselves than those in the Federal boarding schools.

In order to be able to weigh the pros and cons of attending public schools, a study of achievement in post-high school years is necessary. However, on the basis of the data available in this study, it appears that competition with Anglo students has not minimized at all aspiration which is considerably higher among the public school students, particularly in terms of occupation. This, in turn, may be related to the fact that public school students live at home and that their parents tend to have a higher occupational status, and higher social stability than the parents of Federal boarding school students, a manifestation of the selective recruitment of the boarding schools.

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[1]One of the major complaints of the Pima heard by the writer, was the "greediness" of the Anglo who forever want to amass material possessions. The discrepancy between the desire for education and occupational aspiration on one hand and the overwhelming rejection of materialistic value-orientation is one example of the institutional dislocation that exists in the reservations. It appears that the Pima have rejected an integral part of the mobility complex which indicates that the so-called Protestant Ethic, as a social ideology, has been neither understood nor accepted by them.

Religion. The religious membership preference of the Pima youth in this study also proved to be an important factor. Most churches in the reservation are directed by Anglo ministers, except two Presbyterian churcnes which are lead by Indian ministers from other tribes. When controlling for this specific difference in the analysis, no important patterns were noted. Actually, by observation, the Indian Presbyterian ministers appear to be highly anglicized in their way of life.[1]

The respondents showed some differences when analyzed by religious membership and for the purpose, the only distinction made was between Catholics and non-Catholics. Non-Catholics scored high in the three aspects of mobility orientation: educational aspiration, occupational aspiration, and materialistic value orientation, when compared with the Catholic respondents. And they scored slightly but consistently higher in most of the mobility skills except for universalism and pro-Anglo orientation. The occupational status of fathers of non-Catholics is very much higher than that of the Catholics. Also, the social stability of the non-Catholics is slightly higher than that of the Catholics.

Thus the data show that the non-Catholics in the population come from higher status and more stable homes and that they express higher mobility aspiration and mobility skills.

Out of the eleven different variables in which the youth were tested, those with non-Catholic membership were higher scorers in nine. Thus, it appears that the non-Catholic Pima are closer than the Catholic Pima to the Anglo socio-cultural framework. It should be pointed out that on the basis of recent findings in studies of American society, it could hardly be inferred that American Catholics are that much opposed to the Protestant Ethic (Pope, 1953.) So there must be other factors which probably explain these phenomena observed among Catholic Pimas. It is possible that the greater social distance between the clergy and their congregation, or the Spanish background of Catholicism in the reservation, with its lack of rationalizations for social mobility, or even the historical accident of Catholic proselyting of the more isolated - less urban and less anglicized - areas of the reservations, may combine to explain these findings. However, no empirical data are available in this study to explain this occurrence.

Impersonal participation in Anglo culture. Impersonal participation seems to be positively related to both educational and occupational aspiration, but again, materialistic value orientation shows the opposite trend, as it is low among those who have a relatively high participation. This same factor is slightly related to two of the mobility skills: universalism and pro-Anglo orientation.

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[1]During fieldwork on the reservations, the two Presbyterian ministers were interviewed. Although one minister was a Sioux and the other was from the Blackfoot tribe, both had Anglo middle class standards in their homes. Both had received extensive Anglo academic and religious education.

Impersonal participation in Anglo culture is also slightly related to occupational status of the father and to social stability of the parents.

Of course, impersonal participation in Anglo culture implies a very superficial relationship to Anglos, but the trend of more anti-materialism is still present among those in greater contact with Anglo culture.

Apparently, parents with higher occupational status can facilitate greater contact for their children, with impersonal Anglo culture, and in turn, this impersonal participation may influence slightly educational and occupational aspiration, as well as universalism and pro-Anglo orientation as mobility skills.

Personal participation in Anglo culture. This part of the table indicates some relationship between personal participation in Anglo culture and educational and, to a large extent, occupational aspiration. The mobility skills of universalism and pro-Anglo orientation are also positively related to personal participation. Materialistic value orientation is slightly related to low personal orientation in Anglo culture. There is also some apparent relationship between personal participation and specificity and school adjustment. Personal participation is also related to high occupational status of the father.

G. Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, we attempted to describe the population of the Pima youth studied. First, the demographic and ecological characteristics were described, then the distribution of the population with respect to selected indicators of mobility orientation and mobility skills of the youth was presented. Also included was a description of some aspects of the social characteristics of the youth and their parents, both as reported by the youth. Further clarification of this description was achieved by selected controls.

It appears that some aspects of the mobility orientation of Pima youth are high while others are low. Educational aspiration is especially high. Their occupational aspiration is lower and the materialistic value-orientation is particularly low in the group.

In terms of mobility skills the Pima youth appear to be even more handicapped. In terms of the selected aspects of affective neutrality, specificity and universalism, the Pima youth score high in the first but quite low in the other two. Their orientation to diffuseness and particularism appears to be quite strong in them, which suggests that they may encounter great difficulties in entering, and particularly maintaining, a position in the usually impersonal world of the economic structure of Anglo society.

This descriptive material also shows that the pro-Anglo orientation of these Pima youth is not high enough, when it is considered that most of the opportunities for social mobility are outside the reservation. The same

can be said for their school adjustment and their social stability. With respect to social stability, half of the youth report they have been in trouble with the law. For purposes of their social mobility, that fact, though an important handicap, is perhaps not as important as the implications that these youth are not receiving adequate social protection from their families. Getting in trouble with the law would seem to be related to the fact that the parents have little or no social power and thus cannot protect the youth. It also undoubtedly reflects the social disorganization of the Indian family itself.

This family disorganization in the reservation is also explicitly described here in terms of the occupational status of the father and the social stability of the parents. The data evidently suggest that the occupational position of a large number of Pima fathers is extremely low and that unemployment is particularly high among them. The high number of broken homes and the drinking habits of both father and mother also indicate that the Pima youth may not have access to the normally expected family support and guidance in the process of entering the labor market at the level needed by their reported educational occupational aspiration.

Further analysis of these same data by selected controls reaffirms and clarifies these observations. Both educational and occupational aspirations seem to be more often present among groups that are traditionally close to the family unit, the younger group and girls. But they are also high among those who are in contact with Anglos: the Salt River reservation, those having impersonal and personal participation in Anglo culture, those in the public schools, and those holding membership in non-Catholic churches. This seems to indicate that the socially stable Indian family unit and Anglo institutions in touch with the Pima reinforce one another in that area. On the other hand, the family seems to be at odds with Anglo institutions in their attitude toward materialistic value-orientation, and materialism has become, apparently, somewhat of a bad word around the Pima. And the more the Pima are in contact with the Anglo world, the less they accept materialism as a desirable value. This further supports the theory of institutional dislocation and indicates that the Pima family, isolated from the other societal institutions, is not able to prepare adequately and without glaring contradictions, the basic and complex set of values needed by its members to enter and perform in the Anglo world.

Except for affective neutrality, which isolated from other social mobility skills may not have great significance, the Pima family does not appear able to acquire and pass on the mobility skills needed to achieve social mobility in the Anglo society.

The chapter also shows that non-Catholics appear to have higher mobility skills than Catholics, as do also those with a high score in personal and impersonal participation in the Anglo culture, and those in the group who are older.

In the next chapter, the statistical analysis will show a more direct relationship between the main variables as the specific hypotheses are tested.

CHAPTER V

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

In this chapter the statistical analysis is undertaken. This consists of correlation analysis and the application of statistical tests of significance to determine the tenability of the proposed hypotheses. The purpose here is to determine the existence, direction, and degree of the relationship of the variables in each one of the hypotheses stated in Chapter III. Spearman rank correlation coefficient (r_s) is used throughout the analysis. (Sidney Siegal, 1956; Allen L. Edwards, 1946.) The respective correlation coefficients are presented here along with the P values which refer to the level of statistical significance of the coefficients.[1] Although the hypotheses are directional, two-tailed tests were used here after some negative associations appeared.

A. Testing of the Hypotheses

The statistical analysis proceeds by presenting each general proposition first and then the individual hypotheses with the respective results.

Proposition 1. The proposition that there was a relationship between the occupational status of the father and the mobility orientation of the youth, was broken down into specific directional hypotheses. These hypotheses were tested by the correlation of the respective variables. A correlation coefficient is shown along with a probability value which indicates the level of significance of the coefficient of correlation.

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[1]It could be argued that no tests of significance should have been used here for a sample admittedly not selected randomly. However, as mentioned earlier, the population studied is seen as a sample in time of the school-attending Pima youth, and as such, tests of significance are appropriate to evaluate and interpret the resulting coefficients.

The two variables of the specific hypotheses follow:

	r_s	P
1. Occupational status of father and educational aspiration of youth	.21	$<.01$
2. Occupational status of father and occupational aspiration of youth	.21	$<.01$
3. Occupational status of father and materialistic value-orientation of youth	-.12	n.s.

As indicated by the correlation coefficients, two of the variables are significantly related. The educational aspiration, the occupational aspiration and the materialistic value-orientation of the Pima youth are related to the occupational status of the father. In the third hypothesis, however, the direction of the relationship of the variables is contrary to that expected. As it will be seen in all the hypotheses containing materialistic value orientation as a variable, the relationship turned up to be negative. This is corroboration of the fact reported in the descriptive analysis that materialistic value-orientation among the Pima youth is related negatively to proximity to the Anglo urban communities. It was suggested there that since material achievement was a typically Protestant Ethic view of self-validation, that testing the Pima for that value needed specific justification. At the time the hypotheses were formulated, it was believed that those parents who had achieved some measure of social and economic stability might have also internalized the basic aspects of the complex Anglo normative and value system and could be expected to be able to pass this on to their children. With respect to educational and occupational aspiration this seems to be the case, however, with respect to materialistic value orientation, exactly the opposite seems to have taken place. Because while the desire for the same general social goals of the Anglo population is apparently present among some Pima students, such as desire for education and for high status occupations, the related achievement of materialistic goals is not accepted by them or their parents as legitimate means of self-validation.

The prevalence of negative reaction to materialistic goals among these students plus the status of father and the materialistic value-orientation of youth seems to indicate some lack of understanding of the complex motivational and economic rationalization system in the Anglo society.

Proposition 2. The second proposition refers to occupational status of father again as the independent variable and to mobility skills of youth as dependent variables.[1] Mobility skills were measured by a series of indexes

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[1]Mobility skills as instrumental to mobility, are seen here as reflecting more complex values than mobility orientation. Merton, in his typology

and sub-indexes and were also broken into four specific directional hypotheses, as follows:

	r_s	P
4. Occupational status of father and value orientation toward implementation of goals[1]	.11	<.05
5. Occupational status of father and pro-Anglo orientation of youth	.04	n.s.
6. Occupational status of father and school adjustment of youth	.09	n.s.
7. Occupational status of father and social stability of youth	.14	<.01

The above test shows that in two of the hypotheses the correlation coefficients do not come within statistical significance even though the direction is as expected. This is one indication that the occupational status of the father is related to the mobility orientation of the youth but not to their mobility skills. Two of the skills, however, are positively associated with the occupational status of the father. Specifically, the higher the occupational status of the father, the more the youth show possession of values and orientations instrumental for the implementation of their goals. This is also true with respect to the social stability of youth.

It cannot be claimed, of course, that there is a direct cause-effect relationship between these variables, as it is certain that other factors must be involved; however, though only by inference, it may be suggested that, at least in part, the correlation of the variables is related to some measure of institutional integration which probably characterizes those few Indian families that have achieved some type of foothold in the Anglo economic system.

On the negative side, it is perhaps even more important to point out that if it is true (also by inference) that even families with relatively

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(Cont. from p. 50) of modes of individual adaptation, indicates that while the great majority within a society accept the broad goals, the values guiding the specific means are not as readily understood or accepted. On this basis, it was expected that mobility skills would be most difficult to pass on and this test indicates this to be true. (Merton, 1957.)

[1]As indicated in the Appendix, the index of value orientation toward implementation of goals is composed of responses to the three dilemmas of value orientation as: affectivity-affective neutrality, universalism, particularism, and specificity-diffuseness.

high occupational status have children who show neither high school adjustment nor high pro-Anglo orientation, it may be reasonable to think of the existence of possible contradictions (in terms of Anglo expectations) in the socialization of the Indian youth.[1]

Proposition 3. The third proposition deals with the second independent variable and suggests that the social stability of the parents is positively associated with the mobility orientation of the youth. This was also broken into three specific hypotheses which were tested separately.

The results were as follows:

	r_s	P
8. Social stability of parents and educational aspiration of youth	.08	n.s.
9. Social stability of parents and occupational aspiration of youth	.16	<.01
10. Social stability of parents and materialistic value orientation of youth	.06	n.s.

As shown, two of the three hypotheses seem to be untenable. More and more it appears that there is some discrepancy in some basic aspects of Pima family relationships. For there appears to be no positive association between the social stability of the parents and the educational and materialistic orientation of youth. The case is not altogether negative, however, as the ninth hypothesis shows some positive correlation between the variables.[2]

Proposition 4. In this proposition it was stated that the social stability of the parents was positively related to the mobility skills of youth.

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[1]This type of speculation is not extreme to anyone who has spent several months on a reservation and has visited, talked to, and observed many of the intimate aspects of reservation life. On the other hand, it is definitely true that an exploratory study raises many more questions than it is able to answer even tentatively.

[2]Again this raises more questions than it answers. For as shown in the previous chapter (see Chapter IV, Table III) only 18% (79 youth) had a high score in occupational aspiration. And also as mentioned earlier, Pima youth do not aspire to the higher prestige and income occupations in the Anglo world but mostly to those occupations which are familiar to them through Anglo civil service workers. It is in the light of this that all findings must be considered.

Four specific hypotheses were proposed to test the relationship between these two variables. These were:

		r_s	P
11.	Social stability of parents and value orientation toward the implementation of goals	-.06	n.s.
12.	Social stability of parents and pro-Anglo orientation of youth	-.09	n.s.
13.	Social stability of parents and school adjustment of youth	-.05	n.s.
14.	Social stability of parents and social stability of youth	.15	.01

At this point a pattern becomes evident. The mobility skills of the youth are slightly, or negatively, or not correlated at all with the stability and the occupational status of the parents. Three of the six hypotheses on mobility orientation appear to be tenable, from the statistical point of view, but only three out of the eight hypotheses about mobility skills appear to be tenable. While in data analysis statistics can only be suggestive or indicative of trends, the consistency of the results points definitely to negative findings.

Though the findings appeared to be definitely negative, at this point it was thoughtdesirable to pursue the analysis using selected controls in order to explore the possibility of new insight.

B. Correlation Analysis Using Selected Controls

The controls selected for this purpose were sex, type of school attended, religion, and personal participation in Anglo culture.

The results of this analysis have been organized as Table XVI showing the coefficients for every hypothesis and for every subgroup.

As it is evident by careful study of Table XVI, the pattern of the relationship of the variables remains very much the same as in the previous analysis. Some of the coefficients appear to be rather large but in those cases the N's are rather small. Some controls, for example religion, sometimes affect the relationship of some variables, but in general, it must be concluded that the controlled analysis does not seem to modify significantly the conclusion that the findings are negative.

In other words, even though the mobility orientation of a large number of Pima youth appears to be high, and even though some of themalso manifest some mobility skills, no positive correlation is found between these variables and basic characteristics of their respective family of orientation with which, theoretically, there should be a positive relationship.

On the basis of the evidence here presented, then, it must be concluded that the findings concerning the empirical part of the present study are negative. When testing theory, the value and implications of negative findings can be as important as those deriving from positive findings.[1] In the present case, the findings suggest that it may be very difficult for the Pima youth to achieve the mobility orientation which they seem to have, as that orientation, and especially the mobility skills reported by the youth, do not seem to be associated with the influence of their respective families.

There are other important implications of these negative findings, but these will be considered later, in the next chapter. At this time, the negative findings present us with a more immediate question which may be of related importance. The question refers to the reported mobility orientation and skills of the Pima youth. If these are not related to the influence of the family, then where do they come from?[2]

In order to explore this question, additional statistical analysis became necessary. This analysis consisted of using the control variable personal participation in Anglo culture, as an independent variable and correlating it to each of the seven dependent variables, first for the whole population and then for each of the subgroups resulting from the three controls of sex, school attended, and religion. The choice of personal participation in Anglo culture as an independent variable for this secondary analysis was based on the theoretical consideration which suggests that

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[1]For all practical purposes the findings of the empirical part of this study must be considered negative. At this time it becomes necessary to re-evaluate the general propositions from which the hypotheses were derived. These propositions were suggested by that aspect of mobility theory which in Anglo society has successfully predicted and empirically demonstrated the relationship between individual aspiration and achievement, and family socialization and support. As the findings here show, it is evident that the same propositions are untenable when applied to Pima society.

The validity of mobility theory is not questioned but only its application, as in this case, to groups the social organization of which do not meet the theoretical assumptions. Evidently, the Pima group is one of these groups. In reviewing the theoretical assumptions for the empirical part of this study, it must be remembered that the hypotheses were proposed on the assumption that some measure of institutional integration might characterize at least some of the Indian families living in that institutionally dislocated society. It appears that such an assumption cannot be made.

[2]It must be pointed out, however, that this question is not part of the original study design. It is raised here not because it has direct relevance to the study, but because of its intrinsic interest.

TABLE XVI

TEST OF SPECIFIC HYPOTHESES AMONG SUB-GROUPS OF PIMA YOUTH

Variables Correlated	Sex		Schools		Religion		Pers. Part.			Total
	Boys	Girls	Publ.	Fed.	Cath.	Non-Cath.	High	Ave.	Low	Population
Occupational status of father with										
Educational aspiration of youth	.26**	.29**	.31**	.18**	.25**	.26**	.58**	.20**	.29**	.21**
Occupational asp. of youth	.25**	.45**	.43**	.17*	.26**	.34**	.41*	.30**	.39**	.21**
Material Value-orientation of youth	-.12	-.14*	-.15*	-.09	-.14	.13*	-.12	-.15*	-.06	-.12*
Value orientation toward implementation of goals	.02	.14	.11	-.01	-.05	.05	.07	.10	-.13	.11*
Pro-Anglo orientation	.06	-.05	.03	.02	.17	-.02	.19	-.04	-.04	.04
School Adjustment	.06	.02	.17*	.09	.02	.03	.29	.03	-.02	.09
Social Stability	.18**	.06	.14*	.04	.24*	.08	.23	.14*	.12	.14**

TABLE XVI - Continued

Social stability of parents with										
Educational aspiration of youth	.05	.13	.08	-.02	-.01	.09	.37*	.06	.05	.08
Occupational asp. of youth	.13	.22**	.08	.15*	-.01	.20**	.36*	.15*	.14	.16**
Material Value-orientation of youth	-.10	.13	-.01	.07	.05	.01	.07	-.02	.06	-.06
Value orientation toward implementation of goals	-.04	-.07	-.08	-.04	-.08	-.06	-.11	.01	-.18*	-.06
Pro-Anglo orientation	-.10	-.10	-.10	-.05	-.16	-.07	.13	-.07	-.18*	-.09
School adjustment	.08	-.03	.08	.05	.06	-.09	.05	-.02	-.13	-.05
Social Stability	.19**	.17*	.12	.05	.14	.13	.07	.18**	.10	.15**

** p= < .01

* p= < .05

acculturation is definitely related to primary group relationships.[1]

C. Personal Participation in Anglo Culture As An Independent Variable

With the new independent variable and the seven dependent variables used in the previous hypotheses, seven other hypotheses resulted and were tested. The result of the test is presented as Table XVII where the following patterns can be observed: with respect to the entire population, in four out of the seven hypotheses, the relationship of the variables is tenable. With respect to the subgroups, there appears to be a higher correlation of the variables among boys than among girls, among those attending public schools than among those in federal schools and higher among Catholics than among non-Catholics. But in terms of the number of hypotheses that are tenable, the pattern is very much the same as the one for the whole population, that is, only about four hypotheses out of the seven are tenable, except for the boys where there are five and for the girls where there are two.

However, there is a new pattern which is suggested by the analysis of these variables: there is no relationship for the whole population and almost for none of the subgroups between personal participation in Anglo culture and the school adjustment and social stability of the youth. Even more interesting is the finding that with respect to social stability and material value orientation, the relationship is consistently negative, raising further questions and implications concerning the Pima youth's participation in Anglo culture.

Notwithstanding the inconsistencies and apparent contradictions observed in the relationship of the variables it appears evident that the personal participation of Pima youth in the Anglo culture is related to some aspects of their mobility orientation and their mobility skills. However, the essentially negative findings reported before, that is, an apparent lack of relationship between the mobility orientation and especially mobility skills of the youth, and some basic situational factors in their family of orientation, still would strongly suggest that the fundamental support for the social achievement of Pima youth is lacking even if other agencies and social forces external to the family appear to supply some of the mobility orientation and skills.

D. Summary

In this chapter the statistical analysis of the empirical part of the study was presented by testing each of the fourteen hypotheses. Though some of the hypotheses appear tenable (that is, there are some statistical grounds to reject the null hypothesis in some of the cases) still it appears

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[1]Impersonal participation as a variable was also tested in this analysis but almost no significant relationships were observed. It should be pointed out that this analysis by controls is an elaboration of Table XV presented and discussed in the previous chapter. See p. 44.

TABLE XVII

PARTICIPATION IN ANGLO CULTURE, MOBILITY ORIENTATION AND MOBILITY SKILLS OF PIMA YOUTH

Variables correlated	Sex		Schools		Religion		Total Population
	Boys	Girls	Publ.	Fed.	Cath.	Non-Cath.	
Personal Participation in Anglo culture with							
Educational aspiration	.25**	.08	.23**	.17*	.26**	.17**	.19*
Occupational aspiration	.18**	.09	.24**	.10	.30**	.10	.16**
Material value-orient.	-.08	-.12	-.10	-.12	-.10	-.11*	-.12*
Value orientation toward implementation of goals	.17*	.17*	.19**	.19*	.24*	.15**	.18**
Pro-Anglo orientation	.39**	.22**	.30**	.34**	.41**	.29**	.32**
School adjustment	.16**	.02	.08	.11	.01	.11*	.09
Social stability	-.05	-.13	-.10	.01	-.03	-.05	-.04

** P <.01

* P <.05

that the theoretical propositions on which the hypotheses are based are very much in question. The fact that eight of the fourteen hypotheses were essentially rejected indicates that, in general, the findings must be considered negative.

Further analysis of the variables by introducing selected controls provided no evidence to question the negative findings.

As a tangential analysis, a question about the relationship of personal participation in Anglo culture to the dependent variables was pursued mainly to explore the aspects of the relationship. The analysis suggests that personal participation is related to some of the mobility orientation and skills of Pima youth; however, some strong contradictions are also apparent as some relationships, such as personal participation in Anglo culture and the school adjustment and social stability of Pima youth, are found to be even negative.

The essentially negative findings of the empirical test of the hypotheses suggests the untenability of the theoretical propositions from which they were derived. This further suggests that, at least in terms of the measuring instruments used in this study, the assumption of even partial institutional integration in the Pima reservation is questionable. In the next chapter, the full discussion focuses on the main thesis of the theoretical part of the study: that the social life of Indian reservations is characterized by institutional dislocation. The negative findings about the empirical part of the study only reinforce the main thesis of the theoretical part.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The distinction between institutional integration and institutional dislocation is useful mostly for purposes of analysis. In reality, no group whether large or small, is ever characterized by full integration. Likewise, complete dislocation is seldom, if ever, present in social reality. But as ideal constructs, these two polarities can be useful for the analysis of social reality, which itself tends to reflect different degrees of institutional dislocation. But perhaps a further distinction should be made. All societies undergo constant change and are, therefore, in a given degree of dislocation. Most aspects of this dislocation being necessary aspects of the processes of social change. This type of dislocation is characterized by fundamental cultural homogeneity. This means that the social institutions have the basis for their own survival, and that inter-institutional support is available. Cultural homogeneity facilitates inter-institutional support and the restructuring of social relations and thus the continuity of social life. Therefore, this dislocation is not permanently detrimental to society. It is also limited in its scope and therefore, could be called structural rather than institutional dislocation.

Even when abrupt social changes (such as a national economic depression) or cumulative changes (such as enforced retirement at 65 combined with the lengthening of life span) occur in a society, the resulting structural dislocation is not completely disruptive or paralyzing. For if the bases for structural dislocation are within the cultural setting, then within it also are the bases for structural restructuring. The political institutions, for example, by modifying or enacting new laws, proceed to re-establish the societal equilibrium. The homogeneous cultural base of the various social institutions insures their inter-functionality and continuity even though, from time to time, each one of them may sustain temporary dislocation from the forces of social change.

But this type of interaction and support is less likely in a society where one of the major social institutions has a different cultural base from that of the other institutions. Thus, it is cultural heterogeneity that appears to be the main basis for the institutional dislocation found in Indian reservations, as opposed to the structural dislocation found in all societies as they undergo social change.

A particular problem of this institutional dislocation is present when the institution with a different cultural base happens to be the family. This situation occurs under certain types of marginal ecological and social existence of minority groups who become politically and economically dominated by a larger society and yet are not assimilated by that society. Under these social conditions, when contact between the two groups is at a minimum, the problem of institutional dislocation involving the family

becomes a greater probability. In this isolation, it is possible for the family unit to keep some type of community and cultural identity even when the other supporting institutions are eventually destroyed and replaced by the social institutions of the dominant group.

The case of the American Indian is an illustration of an isolated group. Institutional dislocation developed as the Indian was permitted to maintain some aspects of group identity while at the same time the very means of his community life were eliminated.

The American Indian is also an illustration of the outstanding ability of the family institution to survive. For the family was the only institution left to the Indian, though at present, it is perhaps only a shadow of what it was when the means for its social validation were still available.[1]

In this struggle for survival, the Indian family has been supported by physical isolation from Anglo society and by the Anglo rejection of some of the physical characteristics of its members, but still, it remains as a fact that, as a unit, the Indian family has survived and apparently continues to influence its members as well as to shield them from the influence of the Anglo social institutions.

The why, or the motivating force involved in this resistance is something that falls completely outside the scope of the present study, and it is really of no direct relevance for the problem here considered. Whether the Indian family wants to place its members in the Anglo social structure or not, is of course, an important question, but one which necessitates special study. From the point of view of the present study, the empirical part of it was designed to determine whether some of the social means for that placement existed at all. As previously reported, the findings indicate that this may not be the case.

So, it may be due to active resistance or simply inability or most likely both, but the Pima family does not appear to be involved, or at least not successfully involved, in preparing its members to be placed in the role and status systems of the Anglo society.

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[1]After a century of silent and passive struggle, the general failure of the Indian - as a group - to achieve a social position in the structure of Anglo society, might also be regarded as some type of triumph of the Indian family as an institution. A sad type of triumph, of course, from the point of view of social achievement in Anglo society. Nevertheless, the permanence of the Indian as a group and his resistance to assimilation does not appear to be due only to the apparently powerful family influence over the individual. That the Indian family is unable - or unwilling - to influence its members to enter and to maintain prestige positions in Anglo society does not necessarily mean that it has no power or influence over them.

Social mobility is a lifelong struggle. It is true that the individual usually needs and uses other institutional support besides his family. But it is also true that, generally, without the original support of his family, the individual is, more often than not, in a poor position to profit or take advantage of the support available to him through other social institutions.

And since to maintain social achievement is no less difficult than to obtain it in the first place, the family here also performs an important role. For though the complex ramifications of values, attitudes, norms, role expectations, and ability in role behavior, are all learned in various settings, none of these settings equals the efficiency of the family in the socialization process.

Even when the family is involved directly in preparing the individual for entrance into the other institutions, synchronization of means and ends for his social mobility is a problem difficult enough. This type of difficulty may often occur under structural dislocation. But if the same or similar problem occurs under institutional dislocation, there appears to be no end to the confusion of means and ends. For then, not only is the family not involved directly in the socialization of the child into the "foreign" institutions, but there may be active family resistance against those efforts with a terrific waste of energy as a result. Moreover, when not synchronized by the family, the efforts of other institutions may often be mutually neutralizing and often even openly antagonistic. Individual social adjustment to any kind of institutional life under these conditions can only become the rare exception.

It is the thesis of this study that the Indian reservations exist under a condition of institutional dislocation. Specifically, the Pima Indians of Arizona, under this dislocation, and in relation to the various programs in the reservations, experience a lack of synchronization of social effort with the resulting failure in individual social achievement.

This point can be partially illustrated by presenting here a general view of some of the main current programs as they exist in the Pima reservation. This is done in terms of the goals, means, and special problems of these programs as reported by some of the personnel involved.[1]

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[1]The information to be presented here is the result of semi-structured interviews with a number of individuals involved either as organizers or as recipients of the numerous programs present on the reservations. The goals of these interviews were to identify both the formal and informal goals of the organization as well as the formal and informal specific programs to carry out these goals. Questions were also asked about the opinion of the respondents as to the functionality or dysfunctionality, in particular situations, of Indian values as opposed to Anglo values, and as to the future of the reservation. Special problems in the carrying out of the goals were also discussed.

In order to convey a more vivid picture of the problem of synchronization apparent in the various programs in the Pima reservations, Chart 1, on pages 64 and 65, has been prepared. This chart is a summary of the different goals, attitudes, approaches and reported results of the different agencies and groups at work in or around the reservations which are concerned with the spiritual, physical and intellectual welfare of the Pima.

It is evident, from looking at the chart, that the long range goals of the B.I.A., the public schools, Public Health, and the churches are the acculturation of the Pima, even though immediate goals sometimes appear to deny this. It is also evident, as manifested in their report of special problems, that these agencies, representing different institutions, do not feel they are achieving their goals.

It can be said that both the churches and Public Health are dedicated to the task of passing on Anglo values which are considered to be basic prerequisites in reference to their ultimate goals. Thus, both Public Health and the churches have goals which can be upheld only by the previous acceptance of a complexity of values that are functionally related to those goals. Health, for example, as one of the important values in Anglo culture, can be best achieved and maintained through the acceptance of personal hygiene, self-control, self-discipline, time-schedules, etc. In religion, relationship to deity is also related to the ability to uphold self-control, morality, deferred gratification, self-denial, hard work, etc.

Many of the instrumental and related values must be learned from the family through the socialization process, and as long as these are not available to the Pima, the main goals of the other institutions are difficult to achieve. Both Public Health and the churches perceive themselves as failing in their goals. The failure appears to be directly related to the untenable assumption that the Pima have values which are instrumental for those goals.

(Cont.) The individuals in the following positions were interviewed: in the B.I.A., the two superintendents, two social workers, the head of the Employment Assistance in the Area Office, a C.O. worker on one of the reservations a retiring assistant superintendent. In Public Health, the medical director of a reservation hospital and the head of a recruiting program. In education, two principals and one counselor of public schools in the area, the principal of a federal boarding school, the superintendent of education on one of the reservations, and officials in the Education Department of the area office. In the churches, two Catholic fathers, two Indian Presbyterian ministers, a Nazarene minister, a minister from the Assembly of God in charge of an Indian children's home, two L.D.S. church officials, one of them the director of the Indian Placement program. Among the Indian individuals seen: two heads of the Tribal Councils, two members of the Tribal Councils, about fifteen heads of Indian families and a number of adolescents.

GOALS, PROGRAMS, AND SPECIAL PROBLEMS
OF VARIOUS AGENCIES ON THE PIMA RESERVATIONS

	B.I.A.	PUBLIC HEALTH
FORMAL GOALS	Protection of the Indian and eventual own self-extinction	To help and instruct in health problems. Recruit for health professions
INFORMAL GOALS	Acculturation of the Indian for his integration	Change of values for better health
FORMAL PROGRAMS	Developing new Pima economic system Facilitating relocation of young Pima	Formal classes to study specific health problems. Summer experience for high school students in hospital work
INFORMAL APPROACH	Attempt at C.O. work. Many small programs for acculturation of Pima (Homemakers Club, Pima delegates to inter-tribal councils, etc.)	Intensive work with young adults (new mothers) and adolescents
FUTURE OF RESERVATION	Peservation will be destroyed from within or from without. Should be helped to become community	Youth should leave reservation: no opportunity here and no way to develop Anglo ways here
FUTURE OF INDIAN WAYS	Indian ways are dysfunctional	Indian ways are dysfunctional Work with young adults
SPECIAL PROBLEMS	Among Pima, too much diffuseness, absenteeism, quitting of jobs, and drinking. Values must change. Education is not enough	Instruction on health problems not enough to help. No real desire young prople to go beyond high school

GOALS, PROGRAMS, AND SPECIAL PROBLEMS
OF VARIOUS AGENCIES ON THE PIMA RESERVATIONS (Cont.)

SCHOOLS	CHURCHES	PIMA
Education within Anglo context	Conversion to specific denomination	To acquire Anglo style of life through Anglo know-how, but not necessarily Anglo values
Passing on of Anglo values	Passing on of Anglo values	To protect Pima values in spit of Anglo influence
Individual counseling. Courses in Indian folklore & history	Teaching of Anglo values in church	Education committee. Scholarship program
Effort at actual desegregation & at involvement of family. Pima values must be taken into consideration	Social action. Encouraging alienation of children from parents	Tribal council is available for consultation in individual problems. Reservation and extended family interaction
Resrvation means segregation and segregation is dysfunctional	Aggressive youth leave reservation. More passive youth stay. Reservation must be done away with	Reservation should definitely be kept. Ambivalence toward industrialization of reservation (fear of loss of land)
Family unit should be supported but youth must be acculturated through desegregation	Indian ways are dysfunctional. Young people should be acculturated into Anglo society	Indian ways should be kept, but Anglo know-how should be added to Indian culture. Indian values are best
Youth do not go to or stay in college. No real desegregation in public schools. Absenteeism and dropping out.	No real conversion. Always go back to their old ways. Parents sabotage work done with children	Parents are afraid children will lose Pima values & become Anglo. Ambivalence about future of children: on or off reservation.

But the poor synchronization of this extensive social effort by the various social institutions through their respective agencies is only one of the various manifestations of institutional dislocation.

Another major problem directly related to the one discussed above, is the great difficulty these other institutions have in developing a proper structure for social interaction that is permanent and that has continuity through time.

For culture provides the imperatives without which there is little or no motivation or momentum for social action. But cultural imperatives, to be effective, must be manifested in social structural elements - that is, a social complex of norms, roles, sanctions, etc., through which the cultural imperatives may be realized. And it is only through social structure that individuals can interact meaningfully and fulfill their needs.

It would seem that most programs on the reservation do not provide a structure which includes the Pima family as a contributing unit. The fact that this exclusion most probably is not by design, does not modify its logical consequences.

The lack of integration of the Pima family with the social structures which are developed by most of the programs on the reservation, is evident when it is realized that most of these programs are organized to do something <u>for</u> the Indian rather than do it <u>with</u> him, or help him do it for himself. The social relationship that develops is a mechanical one where the situation has already been defined by the program policy and requires no involvement on the part of the Indian other than passive acceptance of what others want to do <u>to him</u>, or <u>for him</u>.

An example is that of the B.I.A. in trying to industrialize the Pima reservations to provide jobs for the Pima. A precedent exists in other reservations, for example in the case of Palm Springs, a successful resort area in a California reservation where Anglo economics took over. In most of these cases, the involvement of the Indian is very limited. While it is true that his income increases, which of course is a gain, there is little or no way for the Indian, particularly the Indian family, to feel that his active involvement in all the aspects of the program is required or needed. He feels like an object to be acted upon, rather than a subject who acts upon things or situations.[1]

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[1]The Salt River reservation, with its close proximity to urban areas, for some time has received pressure from the Anglo group for the use of its land. The superintendency has taken advantage of this demand and, in an effort to integrate the Pima from this reservation into the Anglo economic world, some projects have been advocated. Originally, a plan was designed by which part of the Salt River reservation would be leased to an Anglo company which would use the land to build a large community, with private homes, apartments, a golf course, even a private university. This would provide both money for the landowners and jobs for the tribe. Possibly

Another example is the Employment Assistance Program (formerly called Relocation Program) which trains and finds jobs for Indian workers away from the reservation, providing initial services for the relocation of the entire family in the new environment, usually a large urban center. Again, there is little or no provision for the participation of the Indian in all the aspects of the definition of the situation. The best evidence that the Indian perceives this program as another thing being done to him, is the high incidence of dropping out of the program and returning to the reservation. There are few or no structural aspects of these programs that reflect the involvement of the Indian by his own definitions of the relevant roles, norms, and other aspects of social structure. It is not that the programs have an active orientation to this exclusion, but active or not, the exclusion, is real or at least it is perceived so by the Pima.

On the other hand, the public schools appear to be making some progress in the effort to involve the Indian family in the school experience of the youth. Among other things, by creating the position of Indian counselor, a professional person who actually visits the reservation homes and provides a direct link between the family and the school, the public schools, in a small way, are attempting to convey to the Indian family the concept of family-school cooperation, but most important from the point of view of structure, the schools are assuming that the Indian family has a role to play and has some responsibility for defining some aspects of the social situation. The process is slow, as most of the basic assumptions of the interaction are based on Anglo culture, but the fact is that some structural elements of the interaction do include the Pima.

There is another program affecting the Pima which evidently assumes that it is necessary to develop social structure in order to facilitate the entrance of the Indian into the Anglo society. This is the program of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, which definitely involves the Indian family as the structure of the program is developed. The program is called the Indian Placement Program. Indian youth of this faith are taken into selected homes of Anglo members of the same faith and live with the family for the duration of the school year.

Apparently, no effort is made to alienate the youth from his parental home. On the contrary, the youth is encouraged to keep close contact with his family on the reservation. The program includes the possibility for visits by the Indian family to the home where their child is placed. An important element of Indian family involvement is the fact that the Indian family must apply formally for entrance into the program and also the fact that they may withdraw from it at any time. The host family must also make formal application to the program and once accepted, must wait for the program to select the Indian child. The Indian child once accepted into the

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(Cont.) partly due to the Pima's fear of losing their land to "grabbing Anglos," this plan has not been implemented. More recently, the land was leased to an Anglo company for the construction of a race track and adjacent facilities. (Gulette, 1965.)

home becomes the total responsibility of the host family who "adopts" him or her, as both sexes are included, as one of the family. The child visits his reservation home during the Summer and, if still active in the program, may return to the host family again.

Mentioning this program here only as an illustration, it is not possible to describe it and discuss it exhaustively. But it is evident that some structural elements, which are lacking in most other reservation programs, characterize this Placement program. The child is placed in a social setting where new status groups are provided for him. (This, incidentally, is not yet possible in the public schools where social interaction during and after school hours is mostly between the Indian youth themselves.)

The status groups provided for the Indian child in the Placement program are both formal and informal, and in all of them he is expected, encouraged, and given support to establish himself as a functioning member of the groups. He lives with the family as one of their children, and participates in all family activities, attending school, church, and other community activities.

As mentioned before, an important aspect in this program is the approval of the Indian family. Another is the encouragement to maintain the relationship between the children and their own family. It is true, of course, that if this program is eventually successful, the logical outcome must be the physical separation of the child from his family (through social mobility and the fact that the labor market in the reservation is extremely limited) but the program apparently is designed to avoid the emotional separation, a distinction which has seldom been made in the various attempts to acculturate the Indian into Anglo society. The Placement program of this church has been in operation for only a few years and the actual results of its approach are not yet known. Preliminary information indicates that this program may be quite successful, particularly if it continues to find ways of increasing the participating role of the Indian family in the process.

The two examples given above, of exceptional programs which at least partially are trying to involve the family as they provide a structure for the social interaction of Pima youth into Anglo society, can help understand with greater insight the frustration experienced by personnel of the many other programs on the reservation. For most programs - by design or otherwise - exclude, or fail to involve the structural elements of the Indian family as they attempt to lead or direct the Indian to achieve a respectable place in Anglo society. Many of these programs actively regard the family as an influence that should be overcome, rather than as a potential ally which could facilitate their task. In point of fact, of course, they are correct, for the Indian family has resisted all outside influence for many decades, and as long as the other institutions are unwilling - or unable - to establish a functional relationship with the family it will probably continue to resist their influence.

There are other manifestations of institutional dislocation in the social life of the Pima reservations, but they cannot all be included in the present discussion. It can only be repeated that, as long as the basic problem persists in the structure of the social relationship between the two cultural groups, many other manifestations of the basic problem can be expected.

Conclusion

The consideration of historical information about the Pima Indians of Arizona and the study, through participant observation, of the basic aspects of current social life in the reservation, provide strong indications that a social condition - called here institutional dislocation - characterizes many, and perhaps most aspects of the social life on the Pima reservations.

Considered as a theoretical conceptualization, institutional dislocation can be used to explain - albeit in broad outlines - the traditional and present failure of Indian populations to achieve entrance into Anglo society.

What seems to take place in Pima society is the following: the Indian family is generally in a very poor position to do much for the new generation. The family is isolated in terms of interaction and participation with the other institutions. It does not have economic power or strength; its political influence is almost nil, and so is its religious and educational background. The family would need, but it does not have, enough of that institutional support and interaction in order to place its youth in the Anglo social structure. Into this vacuum move the various federal government agencies, representing the other various institutions, and with a multiplicity of programs, attempt to supply the Indian youth with the mobility orientation and skills which he must have to enter the Anglo socio-economic system. On the surface, this process appears to be successful. Thus, the average Indian youth seems to have acquired the means to overcome the influence of his reservation culture. He has the English language and a social mobility vocabulary and other overt symbols of acculturation into Anglo society.

This process appears to be sound except that it lacks some fundamental principles of human relations. First, the Indian family is little or not at all involved in the process of acquiring these values. Second, even if the youth does acquire some orientation and means for mobility, the support of the family in the process of actual achievement is usually not available. Third, in the process of cultivating the youth, the other institutions come in actual competition with the family (or at least it appears that the family perceives the threat, whether real or imaginary, of losing its influence over the youth) and the result is much actual resistance and subtle sabotage by the family of much of what is done by the outside agencies. This cycle goes on and on in the reservation: the family not being able or willing to play a significant role in the preparation of the new generation to leave the reservation culture, and the other institutions constantly trying to take over the role of the family. The family perceives a threat to

its very foundations and reacts accordingly. Thus, whatever mobility orientation the youth manifests in his early life is usually neutralized, wasted, and seldom realized. And even when it is realized, it is apparently seldom maintained, for the individual feels that it does not have the support of his family and his community.

The exploratory nature of the study and the rather broad level of generality of the approach do not permit the detailed analysis or discussion of the many aspects of the research problem. A longitudinal study of Pima and other Indian youth would provide more answers and greater insight into the dynamics of the process as they struggle, or resist against entering the main stream of American society. To learn the significance, for them, of the various aspects and consequences of this interaction, and their perception of their own status position, would add to the understanding of the phenomenon. There is need for a more exact description and analysis of the vast majority of these individuals as well as the factors related to the ability of a few to overcome the personal and impersonal forces in their social and cultural environment.

It is hoped that the present study will serve as part of that effort.

APPENDIX

A. The Design

On the basis of the theoretical frame of reference the following variables were selected:

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES:

- Occupational status of father
- Social stability of parents

DEPENDENT VARIABLES:[1]

- Mobility orientation
  - Educational orientation
  - Occupational aspiration
  - Materialistic value-orientation
- Mobility skills
  - Value orientation toward implementation of goals (three dilemmas of the Pattern Variables)
  - Social adjustment
    - Pro-Anglo orientation
    - School adjustment
    - Social stability

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[1]The distinction between mobility orientation and mobility skills stated by Stephenson (1957) is that skills are instrumental to achievement while orientation refers to the levels and direction of aspiration. The distinction is mostly analytical, for it could be claimed successfully that it is possible to conceive of education (here used as mobility orientation) as instrumental to achieve mobility. We adopted the distinction between mobility orientation and mobility skills mostly because it permits greater detail in the study of the mobility syndrome. Education is viewed here as an orientation to mobility. And to achieve it certain skills at a lower level are necessary.

CONTROL VARIABLES:[1]

Sex
Type of school attended
Religion
Personal participation in Anglo culture[2]

To test the relationship between the variables, seven specific directional hypotheses were formulated from each of the two independent variables and the seven dependent variables. The fourteen hypotheses follow:

Relationship between occupational status of father and mobility orientation of youth

1. The higher the score on the index of occupational status of the father, the higher the score on the index of educational aspiration of the youth.

2. The higher the score on the index of occupational status of the father, the higher the score on the index of occupational aspiration of the youth.

3. The higher the score on the index of occupational status of the father, the higher the score on the index of materialistic value orientation of the youth.

Relationship between occupational status of father and mobility skills of youth

4. The higher the score on the index of occupational status of the father, the higher the score on the index of value orientation toward implementation of goals of the youth.

5. The higher the score on the index of occupational status of the father, the higher the score on the index of pro-Anglo adjustment of the youth.

6. The higher the score on the index of occupational status of the father, the higher the score on the index of school adjustment of the youth.

7. The higher the score on the index of occupational status of the father, the higher the score on the index of social stability of the youth.

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[1]The control variables were suggested by the preliminary analysis of the data. Since essential knowledge of the actual composition of subgroups was not available before the fieldwork was undertaken, control at the level of sampling or population selection was not possible. Therefore, all controls are at the analysis level.

[2]All variables are operationally defined in Section D as indexes.

Relationship between social stability of parents and mobility orientation of youth

8. The higher the score on the index of social stability of the parents, the higher the score on the index of educational aspiration of the youth.

9. The higher the score on the index of social stability of the parents, the higher the score on the index of occupational aspiration of the youth.

10. The higher the score on the index of social stability of the parents, the higher the score on the index of materialistic values orientation.

Relationship between social stability of parents and mobility skills of youth

11. The higher the score on the index of social stability of the parents, the higher the score on the index of value orientation toward implementation of goals of the youth.

12. The higher the score on the index of social stability of the parents, the higher the score on the index of pro-Anglo orientation of the youth.

13. The higher the score on the index of social stability of the parents, the higher the score on the index of school adjustment of the youth.

14. The higher the score on the index of social stability of the parents, the higher the score on the index of social stability of the youth.

B. The Sample

The sample consists of all the Pima Indian youth from 14 to 21 years of age attending public school and boarding school at the time the group interview took place in November 1964.[1] The schools represented are two federal boarding schools (one located in Riverside, California, and the other in Stewart, Nevada) serving both Pima reservations, two high schools in Mesa, Arizona, serving the Salt River reservation, and two high schools in Coolidge and Casa Grande, Arizona, serving the Gila River reservation.

The school youth population was selected because they constituted the bulk of the young people on the threshold of the labor market and because,

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[1]The population studied here can be considered as a random sample of the school-going population of Pima youth, on the basis of time. That is, the youth studied here are considered to be a sample in time of all the school-attending Pima population (Hagood and Price, 1952), pp. 419-423.

supposedly, they are the group actively preparing for that purpose.

The 439 students ranging in age from 14 to 21 years include 196 girls and 243 boys. Of these, 228 were from the local public schools and 211 from the Federal boarding schools. There were 313 from the Gila River reservation and 126 from the Salt River reservation.[1]

C. Research Instrument and Techniques

The main research instrument consisted of a questionnaire. Apart from the usual sociological control factors, this questionnaire consisted of a series of indexes each of which was composed of a number of relevant items to measure specific variables such as, adjustment in school, adjustment at home, relationships to friends, to parents, to teachers, to the Anglo world, as well as specific attitudes.

During the visit to each of the six high schools mentioned earlier, all of the Pima students ranging from 14 to 21 years of age, were brought to one of the classrooms and after an explanation of the general goals and interests of the study, they were asked to complete the questionnaire.

D. Indexes

Eleven indexes[2] were constructed from questionnaire items and were designed to measure both behavior and attitude. The theoretical frame of reference for these indexes reflected the values and expectations known as the Protestant Ethic, including demands for self-control, material achievement, deferred gratification, etc.

The design of the research instrument on the basis of the cultural

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[1]It was impossible to include in the study the few Pima students attending the San Carlos federal school. The reservation "Day" schools have grades one through six only and therefore, were excluded.

[2]All items within each index were selected on theoretical and logical bases, thus relying primarily on face validity. However the internal consistency of an index can provide a suggestion of validity. Therefore, correlation matrices were obtained for all indexes, using the coefficient r for continuous data and the Phi coefficient (r_ϕ) for discrete data. In this case, all correlation coefficients are positive, adding to the confidence in the face validity of the items within each index. Validity of a measure, however, ultimately depends on its correlation with an external measure. The internal consistency of an index, therefore, can only be a suggestion of validity, not a measure of it.

The first two indexes deal with the independent variables, the next seven with the dependent variables, and the last two with control factors.

framework of the Anglo society is neither a violation of cultural relativity nor a value judgment on the Indian culture. The design is suggested precisely by the nature of the research problem which, as described before, is concerned with the analysis of particular aspects of social responses of a population socially controlled by "foreign," Anglo institutional structures.

The response to each item was rated high if it corresponded to the usual Anglo middle-class expectations on the basis of the Protestant Ethic, discipline, respect to authority, material achievement, deferred gratification, etc. Using a summative scoring system, a total value was obtained for every index included in the study. The basic classification implied in the scoring of responses was suggested by the research problem so that high values were assigned to responses indicating Anglo middle class orientation, expectations, and behavior. All indexes are assumed to constitute ordinal scales.

Index of occupational status of father. This index is composed of items to measure the occupational position of the father, the number of years the father has kept his job, the total accumulated time he works during the year, his absenteeism, his education, and the father's place of employment in terms of location whether on or off the reservation.

These questions were selected on the basis mentioned above. Status here is seen in terms of the Anglo middle-class expectations which emphasize the need for dependability, self-discipline, education. The place of employment (whether on or off the reservation) is important here, because it would tend to differentiate between competitive and non-competitive working settings or environments with consequent status implications (Ames and Fisher, 1959.)

Other items were selected on the basis of rather direct observations Anglo employers have made about Indian employees, such as absenteeism, quitting, unreliability, tardiness, etc., and on the basis of the apparent rather high rate of unemployment among the Pima. It was felt that this index would provide a more efficient measure of the degree of adjustment made by the family to the economic system than if occupation alone were considered.

Index of social stability of the parents. This index attempts to measure the amount of social stability present in the family unit, and it includes some items on divorce, separation, remarriage, as relevant indicators. Items on behavior such as heavy drinking on the part of both parents are also included. Operationally, a relatively stable family would be one which has not been broken and where there is no heavy drinking.[1]

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[1]This index is based on the assumption that in the interchanges between the family unit and the economic system, two important functions of the family are to prepare the individual to support the goals emphasized by

The concept of a stable family is based on the ideal behavioral expectations among Anglo middle class. Again the closer the Pima family approximates those ideal expectations, the easier it would be for it to socialize and support the new generation in its entrance into the Anglo world. For the example of the parents in that area and the actual consequence of such stability could be expected to be manifested in their children's attitudes, behavior and other social skills.

The factors measured by these two first indexes, both referring to the youth's parents constitute in this study the independent variables.

Index of educational aspiration of youth. This index, measuring one aspect of the first of the dependent variables, is concerned with desires and plans to complete high school and to go on to college or technical school. It includes other items such as knowledge about schools for higher education which might give greater weight to the stated aspiration.

These questions are rather direct in their purpose to understand the plans the youth have in terms of furthering their education. Asking for the name of the schools they tentatively planned to attend was an attempt to see how seriously they had considered the possibility of continuing their studies and the extent of their active interest in seeking information about this possibility.

Index of occupational aspiration of youth. This index includes only one item: the actual job considered as a possible life career by the subjects. The Warner scale was used to assign numerical values to the reported occupation and thus facilitate quantitative analysis.[1]

(Cont.) the economic system and to sustain him in his attempt to accomplish these goals. In American society, where productivity is greatly emphasized and where the work situation, at given times, is supposed to take precedence over family considerations, the wage-earner is rewarded if his family situation is stable enough so that he can dedicate a large portion of his efforts primarily to production, rather than to solving family problems.

Interviews on and around the reservations suggested two basic problems perceived by the Anglo as closely related to work absenteeism among the Pima. The first was heavy drinking which is perceived by the Anglos as related to fighting, involvement with the police, and often physical disability which interfered with work attendance. The second was marital problems which was also perceived as bringing similar results. Both heavy drinking and marital problems are believed by Anglos to be predominant on both reservations. In the present study, this issue was thought to be worthy of empirical investigation. (Bell and Vogel, 1960:9-13.)

[1]For the sake of consistency in handling the other indexes, the values in Warner's scale were reversed here, the "professionals and proprietors of large businesses" were given the highest score values and "unskilled workers" the lowest ones. (Warner, Meeker, and Eells, 1957.)

Index of materialistic value orientation. This index is composed of dichotomous forced-choice statements to which respondents were expected to respond affirmatively or negatively. The statements present possible dilemmas concerning the choice of material success as over against other stated values.

This index on attitudes was designed to ascertain some aspects of the subject's orientation to mobility. The main avenue of mobility for the Indian is the Anglo economic system and the first step in the mobility process is the proper aspiration or orientation for which a number of social definitions and ideologies are necessary. Because when the consensus of a society encourages the acceptance of a given value, it can be observed that the culture also provides ideologies that help maintain and reinforce that value among the population. In the case of the Western (American) society, for example, as the culture upholds the value of material success, it also provides popular ideologies such as "you can't philosophize on an empty stomach," "God helps those who help themselves," etc.

The ideologies or rationalizations tend to justify the value of acquiring material success and even to defend their priority over certain other values which, though ultimately more important than material success, do not have the pressure of immediacy.

To have a real chance of success in the Anglo economic institutions, the Indian youth, other things being equal, would have to possess the proper materialistic orientation.

Index of value orientation toward implementation of goals. While the three previous indexes were designed to measure mobility orientation, this index and the following three deal with mobility skills. With the present index an attempt was made to determine the value-orientation of the subjects in terms of three of the pattern variables.[1]

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[1]As presented by Parsons and Shils (1953) the five dilemmas of value orientation are:

(a) Affectivity-affective neutrality: concerned with the dilemma of gratification of impulse versus discipline. Affectivity refers to giving precedence to desire for immediate gratification while affective neutrality emphasizes the deferment of gratification.

(b) Self-orientation-Collectivity orientation: this dilemma is concerned about private versus collective interests, or private permissiveness versus collective obligation. Self-orientation gives precedence to personal interest while collectivity orientation gives primacy to interests, goals, and values shared with other members of the community.

(c) Universalism-Particularism: universalism presents the alternative of giving primacy to norms or value standards which are generalized and validated beyond any specific system of relationships in which ego is involved. Particularism emphasizes primacy to value standards alloting priority to standards integral to the particular relationship system in which ego is involved.

As stated in the review of the literature, it appears that the Pima have traditionally developed patterns of social interaction which, described on the basis of the pattern variables, may be identified under the labels of particularism, diffuseness, and affective neutrality. Affective neutrality, of course, as a mobility skill would be relevant in the Anglo labor market and it was included here so as to test for it empirically. Particularism and diffuseness, however, are not thought to be as functional in the Anglo economic system as their opposites: universalism and specificity. Thus, determining these value-orientations among the Pima youth could provide, at least in part, some index of their potential ability to achieve that mobility orientation which they may manifest.

It is on the basis of these three variables that the index on the value orientation toward implementation of goals was designed to measure one of the four mobility skills.

Index of pro-Anglo orientation: To determine the orientation of Indian youth toward some aspects of the Anglo reality, some items concerning preference for Anglo association were considered as an index of pro-Anglo orientation. The items in the index asked the youth to answer affirmatively or negatively to three specific statements: "I would prefer to carry on my life's work off reservation," "For me the most understanding adults are non-Indians," and "If I had a choice I would rather run around with non-Indians."

The preference expressed by the subjects would suggest the relative possession of identification with the Anglos, a skill needed in the future interaction in Anglo institutions.

Index of school adjustment: School adjustment, another of the skills thought to be needed for future mobility, was measured through grade average, absenteeism at school, attitudes toward studies, and self-image as a student. The response to these questions indirectly expresses the relative degree of success the student is having in acquiring this necessary mobility skill.

Index of social stability: The fourth of the mobility skills included in the present study was measured by an index of social stability.

(d) Ascription-Achievement: this dilemma is concerned with the way social objects should be treated; on the basis of their intrinsic qualities (ascription) or on the basis of their performances (achievement).

(e) Specificity-Diffuseness: is the dilemma concerned with the range of obligations of ego toward other social objects. Specificity gives primacy to a narrow range of obligations while diffuseness gives primacy to a wider range of obligations toward other social objects.

This index is concerned with responses to only three of these dilemmas of value-orientation: affectivity-affective neutrality, universalism particularism, and specificity-diffuseness.

Stability here is defined in terms of instability and this is operationally defined in terms of involvement with the law and in terms of participation in behaviors such as drinking, getting drunk, and gasoline and glue sniffing. These behaviors are normatively considered by Anglo middle class as dysfunctional in social interaction, particularly in reference to youth of school age. Within the reservation, and from the Indian cultural perspective, such behaviors may not be considered deviant or dysfunctional, however, the present study is concerned with the ability of Indian youth to function socially in the Anglo social system and it is from that point of view that social stability, as defined here, is considered a mobility skill.

Indexes of participation in Anglo culture: These indexes deal with personal and impersonal participation in Anglo culture and constitute two of the several factors used to provide a descriptive background for the population. These two dimensions of participation were also used as controls in the statistical analysis of the data.[1] The two indexes on participation were constructed from various relevant items. These items included activities such as going to the movies and/or watching television, eating at restaurants or drug counters off the reservation, and going shopping in town, all of which brings the Indian youth in some contact with Anglo society. This participation was called impersonal as it would entail limited or no person-to-person interaction.

Personal participation in the Anglo world, on the other hand, was measured in terms of five items concerned with the respondent's work experience among Anglos, attending public dances off the reservation, having lived with Anglos, having Anglo friends and visiting in their homes. In terms of these items the participation was determined as being higher or lower.

E. Summary

The population of school attending Indian (Pima) youth, numbering 439 were administered a questionnaire containing a series of indexes designed to measure a number of variables relevant to their mobility orientation and mobility skills. The use of each index was justified by relating it to the theoretical problem of the study.

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[1]In determining the relationship between the independent and dependent variables, any inference made concerning the existence of institutional integration would have stronger basis every time a factor thought to affect the relationship could be controlled. In this case we are studying the relationship between the Indian youth and their family. The youth's participation in Anglo culture was thought to constitute a possible source of some of his attitudes and values, thus the need to control for that factor.

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